

INSIDE: John Turner's losing business venture

Maclean's

MARCH 19, 1984

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.25

The Agony of Depression



—
**The ominous,
rising toll**

—
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the couch**



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COVER

The agony of depression

Depression infects the mind with a soul-destroying sadness, and increasingly it has become the illness of modern times. Researchers estimate that one in every five Canadians will suffer a major depression in his or her lifetime. Now scientists are using brain-chemistry research to decode the enigma and reveal the causes of the condition. —Page 40

COVER ART BY JAMES COOK



Hart's campaign takes hold
Dark-horse candidate Senator Gary Hart's unprecedented surge in the Democratic presidential race threatens to dash the hopes of Walter Mondale. —Page 22



The Liberals start the race
The campaign to succeed Pierre Trudeau began last week but, even though he had not entered the contest, John Turner was clearly the early favorite. —Page 14



Turner's losing venture
A venture capital company that John Turner chaired until recently ran up losses of \$9.59 million last year and still faces regulatory problems. —Page 34

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A fish out of water
In *Spinalk*, a romantic fantasy with shock, a voluptuous mermaid tracks her man to New York City and emerges from the water to seduce him. —Page 66

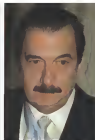
Argentine regrets

One of the most dismal indicators for the future of Argentine democracy is year after year inside the new Argentine (Feb. 27) in your correspondent's observation. "As much as they revented the military's conduct of the war, most Argentines continue to believe passionately in their claim to the Malvinas." In short, they regret the failure of their country's recent venture in armed aggression rather than the fact that it was undertaken in the first place. The warring of nationalism in its pursuit of irrational territorial claims is a practice in international relations which mature democratic states abandoned decades ago. To lay serious claim to external territories in defiance of the expressed wishes of the indigenous inhabitants is an unacceptable international behavior.

—GARY P. FESCHELL,
Toronto

Central-American realities

Your Feb. 27 *Baker* article, The political summary movement, distorts the information about the women's cause pilgrimage to Honduras. The women who were turned back from Honduras at present have not asked for "Canadian government intervention" to help Canadian citizens in danger in Honduras. We have asked that our government lodge a "formal protest" with the government of Honduras because of the circumstances surrounding the incident in the Tegucigalpa airport when the military boarded our plane, the Canadian and American women asked respectfully to speak to representatives of their respective governments. Either



Leopoldo Galeffi: irredentist claims

that request was not conveyed or, if it was, no one responded to it. Whatsoever the case, our government has given a signal that the interests of the Honduran government take precedence over the safety of Canadian citizens. That is a dangerous precedent to set, and only a formal protest will correct it.

—SISTER MARY JO LEBLANC,
Toronto

Moscow's role is to be commended for its objective position. Unlike most of the secular press, *Moscow*'s has on several occasions printed the reality of what is happening in Central America—that the struggle is not an East-West one but is deeply rooted in unjust socioeconomic conditions.

—NANCY ARCTY PALLOT,
Windsor, Ont.

Manitoba's divisions

The statement by Manitoba farmer Gerard Deriole that "Five per cent of the population should not dictate how the rest should live" underlines the frustration the people of Manitoba must feel (Manitoba's bitter divisions, Canada, Feb. 27). In any rational society that view would prevail, but not in Trudeau's Canada. We have this latter division in Manitoba because its people are trapped in a legal situation that bears no resemblance to reality. The Prime Minister himself made that clear when he said recently in Parliament that he would press for the "right" of francophones in Manitoba to control how small the minority. Such is the language prevalent in the Constitution he has thrust upon us without our input or approval.

—MAURICE WRIGHT,
Oakville, Ont.

PASSAGES

DEED: Ernest Redmond Buckler, 78, the Nova Scotian author of *The Mountains and the Valley* (1922), of recollections from pneumonia, in Middleton, N.S. Buckler's later works attracted far less attention than his famous first novel, although his last book, *Whispering* (1971), won the Stephen Leacock Medal for Humour.

DEED: Thomas G.W. Ashbourne, 90, an effective promoter of Newfoundland's 1949 entry into Confederation, in Toronto. An northern Newfoundland and Labrador's first M.P. from 1949 to 1968, Ashbourne participated in the campaign that gave fishermen unemployment insurance in 1953.

DEED: William Powell, 93, the dapper, mustachioed actor who played the amiable drunken sleuth Nick Charles in the six *Three Men* movies of the 1930s and 1940s, in Palm Springs, Calif. Powell began his film career in 1932 in *Shenley Holmes*. Other films included *The Great Ziegfeld* (1936) and *Mister Roberts* (1955), but the *Three Men* movies, costarring Myrna Loy, made him one of movie's top performers during Hollywood's golden years. Powell retired in 1958.

DEED: Pastor Friedrich Gustav Emil Martin Niemöller, 93, the Protestant preacher and theologian who led open church opposition against Adolf Hitler in Germany and survived imprisonment in Dachau, in Wiesbaden, West Germany. In the 1950s Niemöller was a prominent pacifist and later opposed U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. During his 1961-1968 presidency of the World Council of Churches, he visited the Soviet Union and, in 1967, accompanied by Tarek Raheb, Abraham L. Felsberg, he made world headlines by meeting with North Vietnamese President Ho Chi Minh in Hanoi.

DEED: Italo Gobbì, 68, the world-renowned Italian opera singer, of cancer, in Rome. In 1947 Gobbì made his debut in *La Traviata* in Rome. He later sang and directed in the greatest opera houses in the world. Gobbì performed in several roles, but he was best known for his role as Scarpia in Puccini's *Tosca*.

DEED: Sir Hugh Fraser, 46, wartime hero, politician and former husband of author Lady Antonia Fraser, in London. Fraser was elected to Parliament in 1968 and retained his seat until his death. In 1977 Lady Antonia, who was married in 1966, left him for playwright Harold Pinter, whom she later married.

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The hallmarks of Freud

In *Attacking the Freudian establishment* (Jana, Feb. 13), psychoanalyst Jeffrey Masson himself seems to have indulged in an assault on truth. In light of Sigmund Freud's writings and all other testimony to date, charges of his suppressing the truth, cowardice and subservience to peer pressure are not only highly inaccurate but downright preposterous. On the contrary, an unsparing honesty, unadorned courage and an extraordinary independence of mind were the very hallmarks of Freud's life and work. That such even his severest critics have conceded, say, his own evidence suggesting otherwise has to be something taken out of context or fabricated. After all, it was not by suppressing unpleasant and controversial findings but by exposing them that Freud laid bare the darker side of the human mind and disturbed the sleep of the world. Masson's case against Freud, therefore, appears to be either an instance of simple negation or what Freud himself called "negative transference" (i.e. lifting the hand that treats you).

—H. STURGEON C. BARRMAN, PH.D.,
University of Prince Edward Island,
Charlottetown

The lion and the lamb's share

In your Feb. 6 Follow-up article on the federal government's Special Recovery Program written before the recent Conservative restructuring (*The cost of joblessness*) you said that the program's funds have tended to go to areas represented by Liberal MPs and you characterized the Maritimes as "well-served for." Quebec as getting the "lion's share" and Ontario as having a "substantial" share. If one works out the grants on a per capita basis, one finds the Maritimes better served for than the "lion" (Quebec), with \$125 vs. \$100. In addition, British Columbia (with no Liberal members at all) comes out considerably ahead of "substantial" Ontario at \$50 as opposed to \$30. It is hard to rate the other western provinces, since it is unclear from your article whether they received \$100 million or \$20 million (the remainder of \$160 million since British Columbia's share is subtracted). In the former case the western provinces end up with a respectable \$30 share, but in the latter case they get a shockingly low \$7 per capita.

—JAMES BUCKLE,
Wexford, Ont.

A regional national network

Your praise of new CBC children's programs was interesting reading for those of us in rural New Brunswick (*New programs for the thinking child, Television, Jan. 9*) but it remains just that—read-

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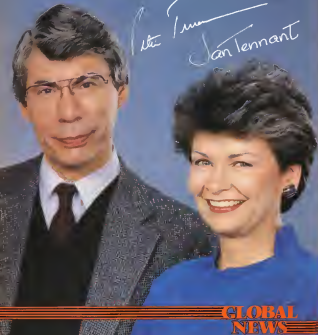


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We do not even receive the full CBO TV network. Although I am sure the same percentage of my taxes as that of a Regina or Welland viewer goes to support CBO-TV, this area receives only such CBO fare as the local CBO affiliate in West John—180 km away—handles. I should see. For example, a recent first-run Canadian historical series, *The Dandies*, was viewed in favor of American movies and soap shows. I realize the station must look to the ratings but I just want to be able to see the full CBO-TV programming that I am paying for.

—DORRIS LA FRANCE,
Berk Ridge, N.B.

A Canadian cultural hang-up

Your reviewer's comments concerning Director John Zurlini's "Inside in Canada" emphasis in the film *Latitude 43* are unfounded. A national refugee, *Pompeii* cold, Film, Jan. 30. I wonder if he would complain so readily about an American film containing passing references to American culture, such as *Polyester* does with its use of "Star Wars" posters and the playing of the U.S. national anthem. Such displays of American nationalism are not blinkered; why then complain when a copy of Marian Kaplan's *Bear* appears in the background in *Latitude 43*? It appears to me that it is your reviewer who has the hang-up over being Canadian—not the film.

—NORMAN SACHS,
Edmonton

The marketable Wayne Gretzky

Your Feb. 20 issue indicates that even *Nation's* is caught up with Wayne Gretzky. The *Special Report/Lebanon* piece, The collapse of a nation, said that U.S. Vice-President George Bush was informed of the latest crisis in Lebanon "at a hockey game between the Edmonton Oilers and the Washington Capitals. While Bush admired the pack-handling preeminence of Oiler Wayne Gretzky, an aide whispered in his ear." As practically every sports fan knows—and Canada's national newspapers certainly should have known—Gretzky did not play in that game because of a shoulder injury. Not only is *Nation's* guilty of name-dropping and trying to cash in on Gretzky, but if Bush thought he was seeing Gretzky on the ice instead of winger Dave Semenko or defenceman Charlie Huddy, then perhaps we can understand why the Americans think they are needed in Lebanon.

—MARTIN CRAIG,
Fredericton

A portrait of collaboration

Your *Quest* reviewer is generous and I hope, correct in his recent review of *A Portrait of a Spy* (The mask of espionage, Theatre, Feb. 27). He is, however,

misleading when he says "[the] Adams has now helped Toronto playwright Rick Balstra paint that portrait again." The truth is that we helped each other in a thoroughgoing collaboration—from concept, structure and character development down to the writing of individual scenes, speeches and lines. The play, was fully a joint effort and one that was for me both a privilege and a pleasure.

—RICK BALSTRA,
Toronto



Oiler coach Glen Sather, Gretzky, Gail Hawes, Bart Reynolds, Phil Esposito. *CPA*

The freedom to be poor

Your Jan. 30 cover story Canada's forgotten poor presents a highly sanitized point of view on the topic. To use the phrase "economic recovery" with that sort of situation in our midst pleases says, "For [the poor] are not classed as part of this society, and it is not likely you ever will be." What sort of freedom and of whom do we speak when we refer to the freedom of democracy? Who decides that these people are not going to work? Where is their choice?

—LOREN CHOPP,
Langenburg, Sask.

Your stories on the poor are timely and significant. And it is not to diminish them that I offer this additional information. The people in your stories are certainly poverty-stricken, but the amounts that some of them are collecting on welfare must seem like a fortune to a single, employable person here in New Brunswick—the \$100 a month

provided to single, employable people is almost unbelievable. It must be obvious to anyone that even the basic needs of food and shelter cannot be met with social assistance on that meagre scale. And to add insult to that economic injury, a person cannot even collect the \$100 unless he or she can provide a permanent address. For those people who sleep outdoors and eat at community kitchens, the mire of poverty must be at its worst. And furthermore, recent Na-

tional Anti-Poverty Organization statistics rank New Brunswick's social assistance programs 10th in the country, while its MLAs are the third-highest paid.

—SHARON FRASER,
Fredericton

It is never difficult to tell that "Canada's weekly newsmagazine" is published in Central Canada. When it comes to unemployment, such as poverty, the West and the East Coast are all too well represented. In the case studies described in your Jan. 30 cover story four of seven were from the West, two were from the East Coast and only one was from Ontario. Quebec passes unmentioned. I wish the seats in Parliament were distributed in the same manner.

—NORMAN CAMERON,
North Vancouver

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply home address and telephone number. Most correspondence is published in the Editor's Message. *Maclean's* Reader Ridge, 777 King St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

Revelations of a diplomatic life

Ambassadors' wives do not usually give their husbands on the line night. But Sondra Gottlieb, the wife of Canada's ambassador to the United States, did. Gottlieb, who breaks the tradition of anonymity last November she began to write a bi-monthly humor column for the editorial page of The Washington Post and she has now become a minor Washington celebrity in her own right. In Canada, Sondra Gottlieb, 47, is known as the author of True Confessions, a column based on her early life in Winnipeg, and First Lady, Last Lady, a romance story set in foreign diplomatic circles in Geneva and Ottawa, where the Gottliebs lived before they moved to Washington in 1991. Gottlieb's newspaper column, entitled "Dear Beverly," takes the form of fictional letters to a friend in Canada from a naive and bumbling embassy wife attempting, without much success, to learn the ropes of Washington society. Maclean's Senior Writer Gilman Mackay spoke to Sondra Gottlieb at her official residence in Washington.

Maclean's: A lot of your humor centres around the confusion you felt when you first arrived in Washington. What were some of the most difficult situations you faced?

Gottlieb: Being an ambassador's wife for the first time, having to cope with an enormous number of strange faces, having to entertain people that I did not know, finding myself living in this small "hotel" and discovering that the wine cellar is empty, the tablecloths are shrunken and the flowers are drooping, and that it was my fault, that I was responsible.

Maclean's: You make fun of yourself for not knowing how to dress and behave. Are you really so naive?

Gottlieb: I found that people are dressier in Washington. It took me about six months to put away my modest little Ottawa wardrobe and decide not to be a wallflower. And life went very fast. I did not know how to make a seating plan. I had to hire and fire servants, my chef left me. And I did not know how to hire a chef—I did all of my own cooking

at home. Here, we live in a completely different world. At first, the house seemed enormous. We did not know where all the rooms were, how the telephone worked, what my social secretary was supposed to do. I never had a social secretary in my life. For the first little while she would send me all kinds of paper that would just sit on my desk. I did not know that I was supposed to write my decisions on those little pieces of paper and send them back to her.

Maclean's: In your Washington Post column you describe a lot of embarrassing moments, one was meeting Jerry Brown, then the governor of California, while you were dressed in your bathrobe. Did you feel embarrassed on those occasions?

Gottlieb: No, I have never been really embarrassed. I would think, "This is funny, this is ridiculous." I think it is because people here are really very nice. Because of my writing I receive an awful lot of mail. The writers all move or lose any one thing. You have blown the dust away from diplomatic society and

Washington society. At the same time people identify with me, everybody who reads the column says, "This could happen to me!"

Maclean's: Shaker Stevens, the Conservative external affairs spokesman, has criticized you for being irreverent in your columns. Do you think that is fair?

Gottlieb: I think my best defense is to say nothing.

Maclean's: Has anyone else in Washington or in Canada criticized you?

Gottlieb: No. It is really odd that I personally have received no verbal or written criticism from Americans. Californians are my people so I can write anything I want in Canada. But as the wife of the ambassador to the United States, I do not want to offend Americans. It is the Americans I am worried about.

Maclean's: What kind of reactions have the columns had?

Gottlieb: Fantastic! Everybody—even the shoe clerks—knows me!

Maclean's: What about the diplomats' wives? How do they react?

Gottlieb: They have been very encouraging. I really am surprised. They always say, "You have described me." Whether it is a congressman's wife, a senator's wife or an ambassador's wife, they say, "This is my life, kiddo."



Gottlieb: "I hate shouting off my mouth!"

Maclean's: When you first arrived in Washington, you said you were nervous that you had to become more direct because you were representing a country. Have you changed?

Gottlieb: Oh yes. I have many more restrictions on what I say—or my conversations. I think it is dangerous to talk about substantive political issues because I do not see the diplomatic dispatches. I do not know what is going on. So I hate shouting off my mouth. I am not a politically intense person. I find it interesting as a game but I do not get emotionally involved. Nothing really upsets me.

Maclean's: What about the report in The Washington Post going column that you had stormed out of an official dinner because a British MP, Eddow Griffiths, had insulted Prime Minister Trudeau?

Gottlieb: That was not politics. He was a dreadful man. There were a bunch of British MPs who were meddling when we wanted to get the Constitution back. He was one of them. He was just berating me and Canadian and the Prime Minister for having retrieved our Constitution. And I decided that I really did not have to sit and listen to him. I did a little insulting on my part. I was pretty rude to him. But I did not storm out just like that. I wanted for a course to be in-

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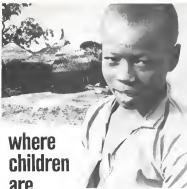
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ished and then I said that I felt a bit ill and I had to go. Then I had to go around and collect my husband.
Mickie's: In one column your fictional adviser, Poppy Tribble, chides you for wanting to have fun at parties. Does the nature of your position dictate that you cannot have fun at parties?
Geddes: Parties in Washington are just an extension of work. In Ottawa I was not in the position of being an ambassador's wife. Then, I worked on my writing and saw the people I wanted to see. Ambassadors' wives are not supposed to have fun. You cannot fool yourself and say, 'I am entertaining these people and I am going to have a good time.' Sometimes you do, but what is of the utmost importance is that you give purposeful parties. Canada is the United States' largest trading partner, and you are always trying to promote something, whether it is potatoes or light-armed trucks from Ontario.
Mickie's: How much entertaining do you do?

Geddes: It seems to me too much. I am as tired. During one recent week we had a dinner for former prime minister Joe Clark. Another day we took the vice-president and Mrs. Bush, Michael Deaver, chief of staff at the White House, and the deputy assistant to the president, Richard Harman, and his wife and a few columnists to watch a hockey game. We entertained them at lunch at the hockey arena watching the Edmonton Oilers and the Washington Capitals. As a gesture, we invited the Capitals to join others back at our house at 4 o'clock, as it turned out, a lot of them were Canadian. There were 300 people. Two days before the Joe Clark dinner we had a showing of *Memoirs of a Canadian* at the American Film Institute at the Kennedy Center. And we were obliged to have all of the 500 writers in for a buffet supper after the film. A couple of days later we had a dinner for Premier William Davis of Ontario. I wish we could spread it out but we cannot control who is going to come to visit us and when. So I worry about the staff working too much.
Mickie's: Are you working on another novel?

Geddes: I believe that if you write a novel you have to be some distance from a place. I wrote about Geneva 30 years after the fact. The same with *Washington*. I would like to write a novel about Washington, that it is such a complicated place. I would not like to write any of those cheap kiss-and-tell loads of novels. It is also impossible to be a constant piece of work like a novel and be an ambassador's wife. Novel writing is an enormous business, and you do not do anything else. You do not go out at night and you do not have parties and you do not worry about seating plans. I can hardly keep my eyes open.



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Angels with clipped wings

Canada's mob-bested Guardians Angels have found an ominous trial—when Curtis Brown led the first Canadian patrol of 18 volunteer coupe fighters through the streets of Windsor, Ont., in September, 1982, 30 young hecklers pelled him and his followers with eggs and stones. Now, An-

gels in the four Canadian chapters—Windsor, Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal—are condemned as even more demoralizing public reaction indifference. And with only nine citizens' arrests to their credit, the Angels are falling police professionals that vigilante-style citizen protection is ill-suited to

Canada, where the level of street crime is not as serious as it is in such U.S. cities as New York, Chicago and Miami. The Angels' record in Canada compares unfavorably with that in the United States, where a 48-chapter force of 5,000 members has made more than 450 criminal arrests since Brown founded the New York City-based organization in 1979. In Canada, including and even a charge of indecent assault against a member have overshadowed the few successes of the brigades and ended public confidence.

Brown, 38, claims that he never expected the Angels to make any criminal arrests in Canada. Still, the chapters have failed to meet his stated goals of deterring crime with high-profile patrols and making people feel safer on city streets. In Toronto, purse-snatchings in and around the downtown public housing project of Regent Park have nearly doubled since the Angels began patrolling in September, 1983. There were 97 incidents in 1983, compared to 39 in 1982. In Montreal, many subway riders have complained to police that Angels marching through the cars and stations intimidate them.

The Angels can—and do—boast about some successes. Members of a Toronto group administered life-saving first aid last April to a 16-year-old high school student, Wesley Selwyn, whose fingers had severely bled in a downtown subway station. But the Angels have become better known for their misdeeds: one such incident occurred last January when a Montreal Angels' patrol incurred the wrath of the Montreal police by accidentally exposing an undercover drug operation. On Feb. 17, Montreal sessions court Judge Maurice Allard sentenced Tauxemont Khamrath, the Montreal chapter's 36-year-old treasurer, to a year of psychiatric treatment for indecently assaulting a woman in an elevator in a Sherbrooke Street building. Bitter competition between two rival Angel factions in Montreal—one pacifist and the other using force—has further damaged the group's credibility. Declared Sidney Rivest, director of the City of Montreal's crime prevention program, "How can they fight crime when all they seem interested in is fighting among themselves?"

The bad publicity has thinned out the ranks of volunteers. Windsor's troupe has only two of its original 18 graduates in its ranks of six while a Montreal recruiting drive in January turned up no candidates. Metropolitan Toronto Police Staff Sgt. William McCormack contends that the Angels are "nonexistent." Brown, the former manager of a Montreal franchise, rejects that claim, but the dwindling ranks of his recruits suggest that the Angels' crime-fighting days in Canada may soon end.

—ANN WALMBLEY in Toronto



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The conservatives' plan for France

France's next presidential election will not be scheduled until 1989, but newspapers suggest that the popularity of Socialist President François Mitterrand is flagging and that French conservatives will elect the next president. Mitterrand is the best chance of succeeding him in the presidency. At 81, Chirac would be weaker than any of the other presidential candidates. He was mayor of Paris from 1976 to 1977. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Chirac's rival, was mayor of Paris and the founder and president of the *Rassemblement pour la République* (RPR), a neo-Gaullist centre-right party. He was also a physician, a rural area in southwest France, in the national assembly. Chirac served as minister of agriculture under President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. He was prime minister from 1976 to 1977 before breaking with the government to found the RPR. Maclean's correspondent Anne O'Connell is closely linked with Chirac at the Paris office.

Mackinnon's French productivity is slipping and unemployment and inflation

are rising. Now would you re-establish a healthy economic climate in France?

China: Healthy industry spurs growth, and that, in turn, leads to employment and social progress. My main objective would be to help French industry once again become competitive. I would re-

ply the grants and other forms of assistance available to industry and commerce, replacing them with a system of tax refunds or rebates. Once our industries are given an opportunity to realize profits, they will become competitive. The government savings will also affect individual income taxes, which would diminish with economic recovery.

Question: Would you diversify banks and industries?

Gilbert: Yes. The only exceptions would be those companies that provide a public service or must retain a monopoly—the SNCF (National Railroads) or the Charbonnages de France (the French coal board), for instance. I would also put as an end to wasteful policies that allow government to artificially sustain moribund companies at the expense of those that are performing.

McIntosh's: How would you differentiate companies?

Chen: Obviously we cannot denationalize everything at once. We would have to establish a timetable. Basically, it would be a two-phase operation. First

we made out the ambivalent cord between the public companies and the government ministries that have been overseeing them. The kinds of public companies that would be of some use to the state would be those created by their boards of directors and answerable to them. The second phase would involve reorganizing the companies and redistributing their capital. This could be done either by converting the state's existing interest in the companies into stocks to be sold on the open market, by setting up mutual investment funds that anybody could buy into, or simply by way of a direct transfer to the employees permitting them to become full shareholders.

Macdon's Many French people criticize Nittermund for his tax laws, which place the biggest burden on the middle class and on the rich. Are the laws unfair?

Chen: Overtaxing the most active and dynamic levels of society is not only unfair, it is economically suicidal. By financially punishing salaried workers, managers and professionals, Mitterrand risks demoralizing and demobilizing them. How can it be otherwise when those who are clearly enthusiastic about work, enterprising and successful find themselves being penalized?

Magellan's. The French are voting in constant encores over the role in crime

which they attribute largely to the growing number of illegal immigrants, notably Arabs and blacks. In some parts of the country that has led to an ugly kind of racism. Do you believe that Iraq is justified?

Chavez: It is true that the government's laxity during 1980 and 1982 led to a massive and clandestine influx of illegal immigrants, who were all counting on that very laxity to normalize their situations. The result was that large numbers of foreigners converged—particularly in certain Paris suburbs. The precarious conditions these people are living in obviously can create a breeding ground for delinquency. That in turn drives the French to reject them, simply because their level of tolerance has been exceeded.

Maclean's: How would you handle the problem of illegal immigrants?

Chirac: First, everything must be done to integrate those immigrants who have been living in France for a long time. On the other hand, we would have to oppose the arrival of new immigrants because of our economic situation and high rate of unemployment. We would not hesitate to send illegal immigrants home and we would encourage migrant workers to return to their countries, possibly by offering them subsidies or resettlement allowances.

Maclean's: Is the European Economy



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Chirac: *Consuming a veritable concept? Would you support France's continued membership?*

Chirac: I believe more than ever in Europe and in the need for the EU. Without a doubt, the EU faces a lot of difficulties. The world crisis has weakened our economies and forced our industries to compete increasingly with each other. Irregular and abrupt currency fluctuations have made the interrelationship of European countries dangerously unstable. Unemployment has taken hold in all member states and now seriously threatens the fabric of our societies. We have to face these challenges if Europe is to survive.

Mattar: *What measures would you take to strengthen the EU?*

Chirac: Beyond maintaining what we have already established, we have to take certain steps to build up Europe. I do not think that we are ready to create a common currency, but certainly there is a lot we can do to strengthen the European monetary system. We should reconcile our various economic policies so that together we can develop research and high-growth industries. We should also attempt to re-coordinate our energy policies and supplies of raw materials. Once that happens, Europe will be far better off.

Mattar: *Do you think that Europe should depend on the United States to protect it from Soviet nuclear attack, or should it take more responsibility for its defense?*

Chirac: The United States is obviously our natural ally, and, given the present international climate, the Atlantic alliance certainly affords Europe the greatest protection. I have come out repeatedly in favor of U.S. deployment of Pershing missiles here, which seems to me indispensable if Europe is to remain safeguarded against Soviet SS-20s. While Europe should maintain that alliance, I am nevertheless convinced that it should do more to protect itself. The members of the European Community have to establish foreign and defense policy agreements. They could go so far as to build modern weapons together or effectively intervene as a group when their vital interests or the lives of their citizens are jeopardized outside their borders. The safety of Western Europe should, above all, be the concern of Europeans. Our citizens would surely be more supportive of our defense policies if that were the case.

Mattar: *Your opponents have labeled you a fascist.*

Chirac: I am a republican and profoundly attached to the principles of the republic. I am a democrat, which is one of the reasons I am a Gaullist. And I am among those who believe that the people, when they choose to speak, are right.

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Le Cognac de Napoléon

bloody campaign of guerrilla warfare

The Khmer Rouge have now either abandoned or softened their formerly hard-line policies in an effort to win back support from the people they once attacked—city dwellers, intellectuals, businessmen, religious leaders and political and military officers from previous Kampuchean governments. The Khmer leaders declared their Communist party and pledged not to restore the system. They have also removed Pol Pot from political leadership—he is now chief of the armed forces.

In the jungle bases of the Khmer Rouge a culture totally dedicated to winning the war has emerged. Adjacent to the guerrilla military bases villages have developed where the families of soldiers live. With the thundering roar of Vietnamese 122-mm cannons in the background, young children learn to have the readers a part of their childhood reading lessons. Those old enough to use a knife help to slice the sharpened bamboo stakes that will be ladders to the undergrowth to impale enemy Vietnamese soldiers. Boys as young as 12 join the fraternity of armed men in perfect drills, swinging under both the guide and the weight of Chinese 56-67 assault rifles. Soldiers practice their camouflage maneuvers, slithering across the jungle floor with osten-



Wounded guerrilla, deadly conflict

tings of branches on their backs. Sickly women sit out in teams along the muddy jungle paths, carrying rockets and ammunition boxes on their heads.

The guerrilla forces provide the food, clothing and housing for soldiers' dependents. And most wives and children of soldiers enjoy plentiful rice, pigs, chickens and vegetables. Women once again wear the brightly colored sarongs that vanished during the Pol Pot period—he had decreed that everyone wear black. In Phnom Thnom, a new Khmer Rouge village close to the Thai border, suffer-redeemed Buddhist monks sit in prayer on the floor of a makeshift vihara, listening to the latest war news. In the past Pol Pot had ruthlessly attempted to suppress Buddhism by either killing monks or by forcing them to work as laborers. Pol Pot considered Buddhism a vestige of feudalism.

The new strength and confidence of the guerrillas is most evident at the O Boeung bridge in northwest Kampuchea. The grass-covered road approaching the bridge is littered with the rusted remnants of Vietnamese tanks and armored cars, victims of guerrilla mines and grenades. Land mines have been planted along the road to deter the Vietnamese from trying to return. The guerrillas are in complete control of the strategic bridge and the surrounding

area. A working gang of hundreds of civilians is building a dam beneath the bridge which will irrigate the first rice crop this village. They will have been able to plant since the war started.

According to Western diplomatic sources in Bangkok, the rebel forces are growing for the first time, so are the ranks of their militia supporters. After five years of attrition, which had led some analysts to put rebel troop strength as low as 25,000, the guerrillas among Kampuchean-ethnic in Bangkok claim the guerrilla forces now number at least 35,000, while the Vietnamese troop strength is down to 170,000 from a 1981 high of 300,000. Spokesmen for the guerrilla forces claim that their numbers are even higher—perhaps reaching 65,000.

Despite the signs of new vitality on the part of the guerrillas, the Vietnamese remain in firm control of the major cities, which house most of the population. Even long Son, Pol Pot's longtime deputy, acknowledged that the "chances of winning a military victory are small." As the Kampuchean resistance grows stronger, the Vietnamese may respond with



Khmer Rouge troops: a bloody guerrilla war

together military measures. Hanoi has so far used little air power. But long said that if the rebels expand their operations to the plains of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese may resort to helicopter gunship attacks. According to De Theum Thoun, a health spokesman for the resistance forces, the Viet-

namese have used chemical warfare. Said Thoun: "We see increased use of chemical weapons by the Vietnamese when they have difficulty attacking one of our strongholds." The U.S. state department says that the Vietnamese have used synthetic chemicals called triphosphenes.

Independent verification of the number of people killed is impossible because of the remoteness of the fighting, but international observers estimate that about one million Kampucheans have died in the fighting and perhaps as many as 100,000 Vietnamese have been killed. Both the Vietnamese and the guerrillas have become more finely entrenched, and neither side has abandoned its goal of total victory.

The Khmer hope that time will erase the memories of the Pol Pot years. The rebels contend that when these memories fade, and the Khmer begin to carry the military campaign against the Vietnamese, Kampucheans will feel more comfortable with them. But hundreds of thousands will have to do so to have a significant effect on the war.

—DANIEL BERNSTEIN in northwest Kampuchea.

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FOLLOW-UP

Cronkite's new pursuits

When Walter Cronkite retired after 18 years as anchor-man of the CBS Evening News in March, 1981, the American media analyzed the event with the same thoroughness and severity that they traditionally reserve for changes of U.S. presidents. Not just a newsmen, Cronkite had made the news anchorman into a cultural hero. But three years after *The Rather* succeeded him, Cronkite, 67, has become highly critical of television news. He believes that the CBS Evening News, in an attempt to win the major network ratings wars, is now too concerned with entertaining its audience. Cronkite also deplores what he describes as the American preoccupation with racial tribal details as the salacious and the private lives of top broadcasters. Said Cronkite: "Now, at cocktail parties, the first thing I am asked is 'What is Dan Rather really like?'"

Despite his "retirement," Cronkite has become a one-man multi-media operation. He has an office at CBS in New York—he shares a corridor with Bob Korman of Captain Kangaroo fame—where he works as a TV specialist. His current documentary projects include a re-examination of Harry S. Truman's presidency, a look-back at D-Day, which Cronkite covered as a young wire-service reporter with United Press in the Second World War, and an examination of how advances in science and technology affect individual privacy. Explained Cronkite: "We are looking at how close things like computers and television surveillance bring us to George Orwell's predictions. In 1984." Cronkite remains upset at CBS's cancellation of his science series, *Universes*, after 21 shows. The program had drawn critical praise but low ratings. Said Cronkite: "It was too good for commercial TV."

Recently, Cronkite has spent much of his time on publicity tours helping to promote the release of his three-second set about the 1960s, *The Way It Was*, and his book, *Death by Synthesis*, a 1983 narrative journal of his travels along the Atlantic shoreline in his beloved 42-foot yacht, the *Wynne*. He has even appeared at Sam Godwin's, New York's famed record emporium, to sign album jackets. Said Cronkite: "I am making a lot of

money. Everybody expects me to give them a copy of my book free. I want all those people to buy it."

When he is not working, Cronkite relaxes on New York's high-powered party circuit, where he is popular as a raconteur. At the same time, he and his wife of 44 years, Betty, 67, are accomplished badminton players. The former anchorman has another less-interest-



Cronkite: a one-man multimedia act

a grand first grandson, two-year-old Maxwell. Cronkite found, the son of Cronkite's 38-year-old daughter, Kathy, the second of his three children. Cronkite insists that he enjoys his new parents but he admits that it has been difficult to abandon the twilight. Said he: "I would like to say I do not worry that there are new generations that will not know me, but that would not be totally honest." Still, he says that when he develops a longing for the "kick of the telephone," he reminds himself that there is more to life than news. Said Cronkite: "If I really did not feel that way, I would get back into broadcasting."

—RITA CHILKOTSKY in New York



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COLUMN

How Trudeau moved the nation

By Barbara Aronow

There was only one occasion on which I actually came face-to-face with Pierre Elliott Trudeau. Not that I hadn't tried. In my capacity as editor of the *Toronto Star*, I had asked repeatedly for an interview. The requests were never acknowledged. Via one-to-one telephone stations had assured me that they had requested time for an interview on behalf of the public affairs programs I have variously worked for. Trudeau, I was told, preferred other interviewers, as was his right.

But we did meet once in the winter of 1982, when a vivacious socialist escorted me into a roped-off area where, far from his pollster who backed the Toronto opening of Abel Gance's film *Napoleon*, a fussed few sat drinking and drinking after the manner. To this day I have no idea whether it was knowing mischief on the part of the lady in the strapless red dress, but suddenly I realized that we were heading for the Prime Minister's table.

He was receiving well-wishers, his face animated, eyes crinkling in a smile. My hostess introduced me. Trudeau had no smile. He repeated my name and asked me to spell it. "A-M-E-L-I, Prime Minister," I said. The Prime Minister looked at me with indifferent coldness. "I take it you are not a Canadian," he said. Seated next to him was Jim Coates. "Hello, Barbara," he said amiably.

The moment concerned me. There is no reason for a prime minister to be pleasant to those who have mercilessly criticized him. In this, one has some respect for Trudeau's lack of hypocrisy. But, although there could be no letting up on criticism of his policies which I saw and continue to see as an unbridled disaster for Canada, in his person Trudeau was larger than his job. For just as our grandparents could be called Victorians, whether we like it or not we are the "Trudeaques." His role played a stamp on us all, and now that the era is ending it is intriguing to look at what his attributes actually were.

He probably had more style than any politician in Canada's history. Without being in any sense Madison Avenue, he was Madison Avenue's dream of a merchandise product, from the turquoise and sandals he sported to the tip of his perfectly tailored double-breasted suits. From his personal interest in the People's Republic of China to his joy for outward-bound-type holidays. He had

the cosmopolitan presence of a man who was (loosely bilingual) coupled with the handsome, leather jacket and Mustang of a world-weary, nonchalance film hero.

And it was not because he tried—it came to him naturally. Few politicians would have combined so much with the least understanding of his time as Trudeau. The package was perfect, topped by the fact that, while he most certainly had his share of arrogance, he was utterly devoid of pomposity.

There is no question that his personality was so supremely engaging. He had all the qualities, the ability for quick repartee, of a good litigious lawyer. He was one of the best advocates for his case that a case could possibly have. The great pity was that his case, his cause, his client, was station-ary. That is key to an understanding of Trudeau. He was an archetypal socialist. Stationary, very much the trend of our

'The state may be out of the nation's bedrooms, but it is ensconced in every other room of the house'

century, in the modern version of feudalism, in which the citizen is subservient to a state that controls or regulates virtually every aspect of his private and public life.

Not everyone recognized Trudeau's philosophy, although he himself was utterly consistent in it, he had even published it for anyone who wanted to bother reading such essays as *The Practice and Theory of Federalism* (1961). Many of our intellectuals and media gossips lost few of these: a small contemporary liberal. When Barbara Frum helped spearhead the drive to get support for Trudeau's leadership bid, one cannot believe that she thought he was a statist. Doubtless, she mistook him for one of her own—what name of us unpleasantly refer to as bleeding-heart liberals.

Disillusionment was not long in coming. A statist has no compunction about taking hard, tough measures such as suspending due process of law when necessary. And that Trudeau response to the Quebec-1914 October Crisis, with its roundup of suspects, imprisoned and barred from contacting legal counsel,

was perfectly consistent. It was not that he was a liberal of French life. They desecrated him as doves.

But the bleeding-heart liberals are the Trojan horse of statism. Their sentimentalism about the vicissitudes of life opens the door for the state to enter every nook and cranny of a citizen's life. Trudeau understood this as well as they. He used the alias the liberals gave him (cries are made at the expense or exploitation of the poor, crime is the product of environment, disparity in society is the result of unfair social policies) to induce the state more and more into citizens' lives.

The state may have gotten out of the bedrooms of the nation, as Trudeau promised, but his government ensconced itself firmly in every other room of the house. In fact, it never really left the bedrooms in Trudeau's attempts to tighten up on prostitution and pornography, the state has taken an even more intrusive interest in the sexual habits of its citizens. Every aspect of private citizens' lives, from the content of programs on their television screens to their marital relations, came under the vigilant eye of the state.

But the interesting thing is that while no politician did or could have done as much to push Canada firmly into total statism, Trudeau encountered one factor beyond even his manipulative abilities: namely that alienated, narcissistic, middle-of-the-road national character of Canadians. No one could have tried more brilliantly to remake Canada than Trudeau—the right way, too, but without recognizing the fact that he gradually edged us into the National Energy Program, possibly wearing us from our alliances with the United States.

But there is a glorious inertia about Canada. The country has the sagacious quality of a bad old law French. It will, on your right, and it will neither yield nor resist. Canada is still a member of NATO and not a nonaligned country. We are still under the rule of law rather than being entirely governed by administrative tribunals and order-in-council. We still have the parliamentary system, weakened as it is. We are still a federal state rather than a unitary one—which, I hazard, was Trudeau's ultimate aim. And in our moods, tastes and habits we are still part of the free world. We still have the same kind of other great northern neighbors as the Soviet Union. In spite of the Trudeau era, Canada has not been Finlandized.

The Liberals start the race



Johnston: Chrétien (below), worries that the contest could end with the coronation of John Turner

The first two applicants for the Prime Minister's job officially entered the Liberal leadership race, grabbing public attention while prospective rivals made last-minute appeals for money and support. Nine days after Pierre Trudeau resigned, Economic Development Minister Donald Johnston presented "a fresh start and a fresh agenda." But Johnston did not have the field to himself for long. Justice Minister Marc MacGuigan planned to begin his campaign on the weekend in traditionally Tory Alberta, seeking an appointment with Solicitor General Lawrence Deane and other local Liberals. Most of the declared and undeclared candidates alike had one common preoccupation: the fear that a leadership convention would be merely a coronation for former finance minister John Turner.

The leadership race has focused attention on the Liberals just as the party closed to within 12 points of the Tories in the Gallup poll (following story). It also made Bay Street lawyer Turner a target even before his expected entry into the race this week. Energy Minister Jean Chrétien, for one, rejected the Liberal tradition of alternating French- and English-speaking leaders—a custom that favors Turner. Chrétien himself has not yet entered the contest but, he declared, pointedly last week that Liberals will have to choose "a leader who reflects Marc Streeter, not Bay

Street, market-oriented private sector."

MacGuigan also has a reputation for being strong on issues but uncharismatic. The 33-year-old former law professor has put together a respectable organization to help his cause, primarily in the Prairies, the Maritimes and southern Ontario. And, although publicity for planned judicial reforms has raised his political profile, his campaign will concentrate on economic issues. But MacGuigan, "The key to the Canada of the 1980s is our economic vigor. Without a productive, co-operative economy, there will be less social justice, more regionalism and more political discord."

While attention focused on Johnston and MacGuigan, Turner and several key aides met in Toronto last week to telephone supporters and assemble a campaign team. "The response is even more than we anticipated—we can't physically keep up," said Vancouver lawyer John Swift. The small planning group also is searching for well-known Canadians who would stand with Turner as Liberal candidates. "If he does run for the leadership, we are going to have to demonstrate that we are new and current and in touch with the people, something like New Liberals for Turner," said Swift. "We have identified about 10 good ones already—it's a serious effort to find competent new people."

Even as Turner prepared to enter the race, Jean Chrétien discovered that his support in Quebec was eroding. Minister of State for Youth Affairs Hervé-Payette declared that as the party's penitentiary candidate would help increase the party's support outside Quebec. And other Quebec MPs have encouraged Chrétien to seek the leadership but refused to endorse him publicly. Chrétien's supporters quickly blamed the fascination of the press with



Turner and continued references to the party's tradition of alternating francophone and anglophone leaders for hurting their man. Ontario MP Ron Lewis, a Chrétien supporter, said, "My advice to him is, 'Do not run unless support in French Canada is there.' The things that are Christien's strengths in English Canada—his populism and his run-of-the-mill image—also hurting him in French Canada." Strong by that unexpected reaction is his home province, Chrétien is still considering giving up the race and challenged his fellow Liberals to say that ethnic considerations should not be a factor in choosing a new leader. Twenty-four hours earlier Trudeau himself stepped in at a caucus meeting and said that delegates should select the best man as women for the job. Clearly, Trudeau's comments revived the spirits of Chrétien loyalists, and Ontario MP Keith Penner predicted that the energy minister would soon declare his candidacy—with as many as 60 MPs arrayed behind him in a public show of strength. "It is 80-per-cent certain that he will go," declared Penner.

Jean Chrétien, the self-styled "guy from Shawinigan," would be a strong Quebec candidate at the convention, but his viable potential as a national leader also was under question. He was also considering jumping into the race last week. Environment Minister John Roberts has recently earned the government's defence against opposition charges that he used federal job creation funds as a source of Liberal patronage. But, despite this adverse publicity, Roberts is likely to announce his campaign for a "new Liberalism" this week, even though party insiders say that his organization and financial backing are weak in the federal cabinet alone. Agriculture Minister Eugene Whelan, Health Minister Marius Barbeau, Justice Minister John Byrne and International Trade Minister Gerald Regan are all assessing their chances of winning. Whelan, for one, thinks that he would be the best man for the job because he understands ordinary Canadians. "I do need a Liberal leader who understands Canada," he said. "The vast majority of Canadians are ordinary people."

As for the leaders directed at travelling candidates, Trudeau could point to his record as president in 1980, before he won the leadership, the opposition defeated the government on a tax bill while many Liberal MPs were campaigning across the country. But, a party whip Charles Turner will try to give the contenders in the caucus equal amounts of travel time. He wants them to stick to his timetable. Said Turner: "It is a vicious game with the Tories these days—and the game for us is to stay in power."

—REPORTED BY
MARY JAMNAN in Ottawa

Gallup's margin of error

When the Gallup poll indicates an apparently important shift in voters' preferences, the news is greeted with joy—and corresponding consternation—by Canada's politicians. Typically, the federal Liberals were elated to learn from Gallup last week that they had narrowed the gap with Brian Mulroney's Conservatives, while the Tories sought to play down the shrinkage in their 30-point lead of only a month before. But the Gallup numbers may not have warranted either party's reaction. The shifts indicated in the parties' popularity were actually so small that they could have been caused by polling errors—a possibility that the Gallup poll warns of when it publishes its results.

gained four points since January, the Tories had fallen four, while support for the NDP declined by two points. But a national survey of 1,000 people has a four-per-cent margin of error either way which can occur if the sample does not accurately mirror the general Canadian electorate. As a result, chances within that four-point range carry less statistical significance—a fact that many journalists and politicians tend to ignore. Gallup Vice-President Clara Johnston admits that the poll results are often exaggerated, perhaps "because too few journalists are willing to accept it as only the best estimate we have and nothing more."

Both the Liberals and the Conservatives use their own favorite polling



Liberal politician Godfrey: diving more deeply into voters' feelings

Canadian Gallup Poll Ltd., the largest and most influential polling firm in the country, each week chooses a new sample of about 1,000 Canadians which is intended to reflect the urban-rural, sex and age distribution of the country's population. Members of the sample are asked to respond to at least one survey made up of roughly 50 questions commissioned by corporations, governments and other organizations, including newspapers and television networks. Once a month Gallup adds a question on voting intentions. The figures released last week, based on a survey of 1,041 people carried out Feb. 2 to 4, gave the Conservatives 44 per cent, defeated the government on a tax bill while many Liberal MPs were campaigning across the country. But, a party whip Charles Turner will try to give the contenders in the caucus equal amounts of travel time. He wants them to stick to his timetable. Said Turner: "It is a vicious game with the Tories these days—and the game for us is to stay in power."

—REPORTED BY
MARY JAMNAN in Ottawa

efforts to delve more deeply into voters' feelings (see STP rarely commissions polls). The federal Liberals for 11 years have relied on Toronto's constant Martin Goldfarb, while the Tory politician since 1979 was Allan Gregg, head of Toronto's Decima Research. But Gregg, a co-author of *Contenders*, a book about the 1983 Conservative leadership convention which is not always flattering to Mulroney, has not been used by the Tories for the past year. The Tories have yet to choose a pollster for the coming federal election campaign. But in the meantime, both they and the Liberals continue to anxiously watch the weekly Gallup poll of voters' intentions—which, despite its predictions, is certain to play a highly visible role in the politics of the year ahead.

—REPORTED BY JOHN HAY in Ottawa.

The Tories seek the spotlight



Mulroney: a drop in popular support and a challenging political future

With this week of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's resignation announcement, Conservative strategists presented party leader Brian Mulroney with four papers advising him on how to retake the national spotlight during the Liberal leadership campaign. But with the latest polls showing an erosion of the Tories' huge lead over the Liberals, it soon became apparent that Mulroney's advisers were pulling him in opposite directions. While parliamentarians in the Tory inner circle urged the Opposition leader to stay close to Ottawa, several aides argued that he should spend as much time as possible travelling around the country and to foreign capitals. But one senior Tory strategist, "People do not want to hear about policy, they want to see Brian." A special meeting of the party's priorities and planning committee will try to settle that argument this week, but there is no easy solution to the Tories' dilemma. Admittedly Mulroney to Jack Martin "You cannot compete with a leadership race."

Mulroney has been Conservative leader for nine months, and the trend revealed in the latest Gallup poll suggests that his honeymoon with Canadian voters may be ending. The poll, conducted in February and released last week, showed that the party's popularity had fallen by four per cent. The Tories are still comfortably ahead, with

the support of 48 per cent of devoted voters compared to the Liberals' 36 per cent. But the results disappointed the Conservatives, who had hoped that their attacks on Bowser Canada's tax collection methods in January and February would win them favor with the electorate.

But even before publication of the poll results, Tory MPs and senators worried that a series of embarrassing policy statements by individual cabinet members had hurt the party. Early last month defense critic Harvey Andre called civil servants whom he accused that "they go around spending as much time as possible travelling around the country and to foreign capitals. But one senior Tory strategist, "People do not want to hear about policy, they want to see Brian." A special meeting of the party's priorities and planning committee will try to settle that argument this week, but there is no easy solution to the Tories' dilemma. Admittedly Mulroney to Jack Martin "You cannot compete with a leadership race."

Crossley, Martin (right): series of embarrassing statements



list. Thus, in late February, finance critic John Crossley suggested that a Tory government might impose a sales tax on old age pensioners and baby bonus recipients. Mulroney had to issue yet another clarification last week, stating that the caucus had "unanimously rejected the idea of diminishing universality in social programs."

While Mulroney attempted to impose party discipline in Ottawa, several of his favorite candidates failed to win party nominations across the country. Last month Peter White, one of Mulroney's senior advisers and an old friend, lost the Tory nomination in London East to James Jopson, a political neophyte. A White supporter blamed the defeat on "Baptist power," charging that many of Jopson's supporters had reached the meeting in a bus supplied by a Baptist church. Two days later, on Feb. 26, Jack Sowden, a local farmer in the Saskatchewan riding of MacKenzie, defeated veteran MP Ron Kornblum for the Tory nomination. Kornblum, who has sat in Parliament for 36 years, was one of the first MPs to join Mulroney in his campaign for the leadership last year. And Alvin Hamilton, another Mulroney supporter, first elected in the Saskatchewan riding of Qu'Appelle-Moose Mountain in 1981, faces a strong challenge in the riding.

Mulroney has also had to deal with turbulence within his own office. In mid-February the leader's chief of staff, Fred Doucet, and his campaign chairman, Norman Adkins, were barely on speaking terms. And complaints from longtime Mulroney supporters that Ontario Tories were taking over the federal organization worsened the personality clash. (Adkins, a Toronto advertising executive, is a key figure in Ontario's renowned Big Blue Machine and has run all four elections contested by Premier William Davis.) The Tories between Doucet and Adkins finally forced Mulroney to speak out at the party's national executive meeting last month. "It was a real shadow-dance," recalled one member of the executive. "He said there is one leader, one party and one team, and we are not going to fight old wars."

After a relatively smooth initiation, Mulroney faces an increasingly challenging future. After the Liberals choose their new leader, he may no longer be the freshest face on the political stage. And party strategists have braced him for further drops in the polls. For Mulroney's self-styled "government in waiting," this spring could be the most difficult year of all.

—CAROL GOSWAMI
in Ottawa



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Oil rig workers: Peckford (below) is showing a rebuff, but he peeps with Givens.

Peckford loses the oil war

By Michael Oington

It was a legal decision Newfoundlanders will remember with bitterness and a major political setback for their premier, Brian Peckford. Last week, in a widely expected rebuff to Peckford's long-held claim that the province owns the oil under the Grand Banks of Newfoundland, the Supreme Court of Canada judges ruled unanimously that the federal government owns and controls the massive offshore oilfield 900 miles offshore. "Tell Peckford the political game is over," federal Energy Minister Jean Chretien advised Newfoundlanders in the Commons. But, although temporarily deflated, an angry Peckford was not ready to make peace with Ottawa. Calling the court decision "erroneous," he said that he would travel the country to argue that Newfoundland has a "moral claim" to offshore resources.

The federal and Newfoundland governments have been quarrelling over the ownership and jurisdiction of offshore oil for 16 years, and last week's ruling does not settle all aspects of the dispute. The federal government now can develop resources to which Peckford staked a parallel claim, but it cannot ignore Peckford completely. Ottawa and St. John's still must reach an agreement on revenue sharing and management of offshore oil. It is estimated 1.5 billion barrels of oil Peckford's only hope now is that the Tories will win the next federal election and campaign Joe Clark's policy to return control of off-

shore resources to Newfoundland. Meanwhile, the oil rigs continued operating on the Grand Banks, but the ruling is not expected to produce an immediate increase in exploration.

Last week's case had its roots in a breakdown in federal-provincial negotiations in February, 1982. When the two governments were unable to work out an agreement, Peckford asked the Newfoundland Supreme Court to rule on the ownership of offshore resources. Three months later the federal government raised the stakes by referring a similar question to the Supreme Court of Canada. In February, 1983, the province lost in the Newfoundland court to the decision favoring what Peckford called "a slice of history." The court found that Newfoundland had lost its right to the offshore resources because the British government did not claim to offshore resources in writing before Newfoundland joined Confederation in 1849.

Last week's 6-5 judgment settling the ownership of offshore oil was an even barometer to the province. The court ruled that Newfoundland had never owned the resources if the province had owned them, the court decided, ownership would have shifted to the federal government at

Confederation. The court in effect blocked Peckford's appeal on the provincial court's judgment. "It is not suggested that the legal issues are any different in respect of offshore than in respect of any other portion of the Continental Shelf off Newfoundland," the court declared.

In St. John's the decision ignited outrage. On open-line radio shows, critics denounced the possibility of secession from Canada, the 280-member Party for an Independent Newfoundland stepped up a membership drive and the Liberal Opposition called for Peckford's resignation. But Peckford shrugged off the criticism and repeated Newfoundland's "moral claim" to offshore resources. "What we are saying is, let us create a law which protects as the same way, and gives us the same rights, as the Canadian government gave Alberta and Saskatchewan and Manitoba over oil and gas in 1980," he told reporters in Ottawa.

Peckford is asking for a constitutional amendment that will override the Supreme Court decision. He hopes to get this done in a new Tory government. So far, federal Tory Leader Brian Mulroney has refused to agree to revive Clark's promise, and relations between Peckford and Mulroney are said to be strained. Ian Barry, Peckford's former energy minister, crossed the provincial legislature to join the Liberals last month after becoming disillusioned with the premier's combative approach. He upbraided Peckford for "fighting with key people on the Malinista track as well as with Mulroney himself." For his part, Mulroney called the Supreme Court ruling "disastrous," but declined further comment.

As for the oil companies, which for years have been squeezed between the two warring governments, last week's ruling means that they no longer have to deal with parallel bureaucracies about safety regulations and drilling permits. Mohl Canada is still applying for the size and value of the find, but will not file a development plan for the gas.

"Nothing will change immediately," said Kenneth Oakley, the East Coast regional manager with the Canadian Petroleum Association. "We just have the two sides run get together and resolve their differences." But there were no signs that Ottawa and Newfoundland were about to patch up one of the nation's most intractable quarrels.

With Special Reporting by St. John's



A deadlock on native rights

By Patricia Hloch

At the constitutional conference of Canada's first ministers got under way in Ottawa last week, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau denied the on-site, cone-shaped whirling hat presented to him by members of Vancouver Island's Nux-Cha-Nulth Indian tribe and grinned broadly. As it turned out, that was one of the few light-hearted moments in a two-day conference that failed to achieve toward the goal of strengthening new constitutional rights of Canada's native peoples. Even an attempt by Trudeau's federal colleague to give agreement to a cautiously formulated accord that would have entrenched the principle of native land ownership without being legally binding on the provinces was rejected by a majority of the premiers attending the

Canada's new Constitution in 1982, they asserted a clause affirming "existing aboriginal and treaty rights," but without stating what those rights were. Last week's meeting, the second in a series of five conferences aimed at defining and entrenching native rights by 1987, quickly bogged down in disagreements over the principles and procedures involved. British Columbia Premier William Bennett agreed that "a pan-Canadian solution and broad consensus in the Constitution" will simply not meet the diverse needs of native peoples. To accept Trudeau's proposal, Bennett added, would "be the inception of the worst sort."

The conference—attended by more than 3,000 native representatives, government officials and observers—opened on an optimistic note when Trudeau introduced his proposal to consti-

tute the proposal as "an integral part of drafting" and declared that "if we agreed to this kind of working, we would actually be weakening our position in any future course."

Most of the premiers were quick to reject the proposed amendment. Ontario, Manitoba and New Brunswick were the only provinces to express support for Trudeau's proposal. While Quebec Premier René Lévesque indicated his sympathy for the goals of native people, he held to his previous position that his government does not recognize the Canadian Constitution. That left Trudeau without the support he needed—from seven provinces representing more than 80 per cent of the Canadian population—to have a constitutional amendment passed.

The conference also failed to reach a decision on strong constitutional guarantees of equality for native women in the Constitution. Trudeau had set to remove an anomaly of the 1974 Indian Act which



Trudeau and Harry Daniels, vice-president of the Native Council of Canada, 'noting revolutionary or threatening'

conference. By the time the conference wound up, native leaders were frustrated and angry. Declared George Erasmus, a spokesman for the Assembly of First Nations, which represents most of Canada's 225,000 treaty Indians, "If Indian people do not get control of their own minds, control of their resources, then all the old problems that are there now are just going to get worse."

The conference was the latest attempt by Ottawa to find a comprehensive solution to the chronic economic and social problems that have afflicted Canada's Indians, Inuit and Métis people over the years. In 1973 Ottawa set in motion the complex and costly process of settling the outstanding land and treaty claims of Canada's natives. Then, when the first ministers crafted

constitutionally guarantee in principle, but not in law, the right of native self-government by the end of 1984. Said Trudeau: "There is nothing revolutionary or threatening about the prospect of aboriginal self-government." The proposal, described by Justice Minister Clark MacGowan as "a symbol of hope for native peoples," would have entrenched the right of native people to "self-governing institutions" but federal and provincial governments would then have to negotiate specific agreements, which would vary for native groups in different parts of the country.

The majority of native leaders gave the proposal varying degrees of support. Said David Abasque, chief of the Assembly of First Nations: "I am mildly amused and satisfied." But Erasmus

has been heavily criticized over the years. He told the conference on March 6—International Women's Day—that Ottawa plans to repeal a section of the act that discriminates against native women by depriving them of their native status when they marry nonnatives.

Amid the bitterness of the conference's closing session, Trudeau expressed optimism that native rights will eventually be enshrined in the Constitution. For their part, native leaders roared that they would not be discouraged by the pleading pace of the constitutional reform process. Said Zelinde Wapogo, a spokesman for the Inuit Tapirami of Canada: "This was one battle where practically nothing was accomplished. But the war is still on." ♦



Anti-seal demonstrators near Prince's Lake: a discouraging debut

The cruise flies on schedule

In the darkness of the early morning the U.S. Air Force B-52 bomber, with four unarmed cruise missiles along beneath its wings, flew above the Bearfort Sea last week. At the same time, 4,000 km away in Ottawa, Mr. Justice Francis Muldoon of the Federal Court in Canada denied not to grant an injunction against the controversial first test of a cruise missile over Canadian territory. With that, the pilot of the grey-and-green bomber was free to begin a 2,000-km test run to the Canadian Armed Forces air weapons test range at Prince's Lake, Alta. When it was over, U.S. and Canadian defence officials proclaimed the 4½-hour test mission a "very large success".

For the anti-seal protest movement that mission was a discouraging defeat after months of protest demonstrations, pickets and court action. Said James Stark, president of Operation Dismantle, a coalition of 500 senior groups and labor unions opposed to the five-year cruise test program in Canada: "It was a battle lost. It is a black day for Canada."

On the day of the test there were small demonstrations in Ottawa, where six protesters attempted to stage a sit-in inside Parliament's Centre Block, and at the Canadian Forces Base Cold Lake. Later in the week, three people were arrested in Ottawa after an angry confrontation between police and anti-seal protesters. A protest march in Tweedie, attracted about 500 people, while smaller demonstrations were held in other cities.

Operation Dismantle's last-minute injunction bid began after a U.S. Air

Force colonel in Washington inadvertently disclosed the test date five days before it took place. But Muldoon ruled that there was no evidence to support the argument that the test of an unarmed missile would jeopardize Canadians' rights to life, liberty and security.

In the end, the low-flying B-52 soared virtually unopposed along the desolate, roughly 140-km-wide flight path, although a handful of protesters at Prince's Lake and at nearby Grand Centre, Alta., claimed that they spotted the aircraft. Military spokesmen said that the test demonstrated the compatibility of U.S. and Canadian monitoring equipment, which is intended to detect false in the cruise guidance system over terrain that resembles that of the Soviet Union. Throughout the mission flight from the Grand Forks base in North Dakota, the missiles remained securely attached to the B-52, while the guidance system is an missile directed the aircraft.

The anti-seal movement may have only one more chance to force a judicial halt to the cruise testing program. The Supreme Court of Canada will rule this year on whether Operation Dismantle can sue the government for allowing the test program. The next test in Canada is scheduled for the winter of 1983, but in the meantime defence department officials in Ottawa are considering a new list of weapons that the United States wants to test in Canada. As a result, anti-seal activists may eventually be setting their sights on radar-guided "cruise" cruise missiles, artillery and other weapons systems.

—ANN WALMSLEY in Toronto

The antiseal boycott spreads

The emotional international campaign against the Seal Coast seal hunt has taken sharp aim at Canada's fishery exports, worth more than \$1.6 billion a year. As a result of an eight-month-old campaign in England by the International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW), at least three major retailers decided in recent weeks to boycott Canadian fish. And last month the IFAW set out to sabotage Canada's important U.S. market. But last week, with the hunt expected to begin in mid-March on a reduced scale, federal Fisheries Minister Pierre De Bauld announced the aerial rights activists as "despicable criminals" and rejected a proposal from the Canadian Sealers Association for a moratorium on seal hunting to take the sting out of the boycott. Said De Bauld: "If we give in to them [the IFAW] on that issue then tomorrow they will blackmail us on other issues, whether it is the fur industry or others."

The Cape Cod, Mass.-based IFAW is using the same tactics in the United States as it did in Britain. Last month the group mailed 3.5 million letters to U.S. residents asking them to boycott Canadian fish until the government places a total ban on the seal hunt. The IFAW also asked consumers to write to five major U.S. purchasers of Canadian fish, including Burger King Corp. and McDonald's Corp., urging them to join the boycott. Canada's exports to the United States are worth \$900 million a year, 30 times those to the United Kingdom. Said Robert Werner, Canada's consul in Boston: "No companies have said they will make any changes in their purchasing policies, but they are concerned about which direction the campaign will take."

IFAW officials were delighted by the response in their British boycott, which forced Tesco Ltd., a 460-store supermarket chain, as well as the Sainsbury Ltd. retail chain, with 385 stores, to stop buying Canadian fish. Canadian officials point out, however, that the IFAW posters and literature have many good people who think that Canadian hunters are still killing "whitecoats"—the baby harp seals with snow-white coats. But the commercial ban of whitecoats in Canada ended in 1964, after the European Economic Community banned the purchase of the white skins. Said one fisheries official: "It is a bait being played on the public." —MICHAEL CLUGSTON in Ottawa, with Peter Levin in Brussels and Carol Kennedy in London.



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The dark horse with Democrats in Alabama: a remarkable capacity to appear sympathetic to a wide spectrum of Americans

WORLD

The Hart campaign ignites

By Michael Posner

American politics has seldom seen a phenomenon like Gary Hart. In 18 days, the Democratic senator from Colorado has catapulted from relative obscurity to become his party's leading candidate for the 1984 presidential nomination. At the same time, former vice-president Walter Mondale has watched his once unstoppable juggernaut approach the brink of total disintegration. Unless Mondale wins at least two out of three critical southern primaries early this week—and a majority of the nine voting contests scheduled nationwide—he could be forced to end his three-year quest for the presidency and cede the nomination to Hart.

Hart's unprecedented rise and Mondale's dramatic fall continued last week. First, the senator won handily in the Maine caucus—80 to 44 per cent. Then, in a head-to-head vote in Vermont, Hart outpunched Mondale by an astonishing margin—71 to 20 per cent. And, finally, he prevailed there New England victories into a substantial caucus win in Wyoming on the weekend, with 90 per cent of the vote compared to Mondale's 36 per cent. Each new triumph, beginning with Hart's surprise first-place showing in New Hampshire on

Feb. 25, added to his momentum. There was no evidence of free media exposure and, with it, floods of offers of volunteer time and campaign contributions. Campaign staff had new phone banks installed at Hart's Washington headquarters. But even those proved unable to meet the demand.

The Democratic party is familiar with surging dark-horse candidates. Former senator George McGovern emerged in 1968 to topple front-runner Edmund Muskie. And the little-known Georgia peasant farmer Jimmy Carter stunned the party establishment in 1976 by winning both the nomination and the Oval Office. But no candidate has travelled so far or so fast as Gary Hart. Two weeks before the fateful New Hampshire primary, a Gallup poll reported that 49 per cent of Democrats favored Mondale. Now Jesse Jackson was second, and Senator John Glenn third. Hart tied for first place as the choice of a mere two per cent of those polled. Last week one national survey

showed Hart in a dead heat with Mondale—and the only Democrat capable of defeating President Ronald Reagan in November.

That dramatic reversal in political fortunes in all the more ironic because the Democrats drafted the 1984 campaign rules precisely to prevent such a possibility. Party officials deliberately "front-loaded" the primary and caucus season so that the eventual nominee would be clear long before the July convention, leaving him free to focus the attack on Reagan. The rules were designed to have favored

Mondale's slaying fall



Mondale—a traditional liberal Democrat with strong ties to the party's most vital constituencies: organized labor, teachers, blacks and Jews. This year the Democratic leaders decided there would be no surprises. With the best grassroots political organization and the most money, Mondale would take the early primaries easily, gaining enough momentum to make his nomination inevitable. To that end, Mondale

campaign with restraint, largely ignoring the other candidates' activities on his because he was an confident of victory.

That caution and sense of complacency soon ran as the passes of the former vice-president's disastrous showing. But no single explosion will suffice. Hart's governmental theme—the politics of the past vs. the politics of the future—is clearly having an impact. The failed candidacies of both Glenn and Jackson have also benefited Hart. On television, Hart's Kansas-style good looks compete successfully against Mondale's slick Rodney Dangerfield haircut and old-fashioned dark suits.

Whatever the reasons, last week the momentum belonged to Hart as Mondale campaigned desperately in the South. He won endorsements from Congressmen Scott King and Martin Luther King Jr., the widow and father of the slain civil rights leader. He also attended a down-home barbecue with Carter as Plains, trying to shore up his Georgian support. But, as Mondale himself conceded, "The key to my campaign is the issues. Endorsements, as we are learning, are of marginal value."

Attacking Hart directly, Mondale scoffed at the notion that his disheveled appearance represents "new ideas" or "fresh approaches." Discussing a series of Hart stands, he added, "If you fight for better schools, you are old. But if you fight for big oil, you are new." As he has throughout, Mondale refused to apologize for his belief in New Deal liberalism. "I am what I am," he said. "What you see is what you get."

Last week's voter surveys indicated that Hart—still without an extensive political network—was rapidly closing Mondale's early lead in Democratic strongholds to overtake him. Even in Georgia, a state generally considered to Mondale only a week ago, the outcome remained in doubt. And the Hart change seemed to be fueled by his capacity to appeal, tentatively, to conservatives and liberals, middle-class professionals and blue-collar workers, professors and anti-war activists.

"If you asked me what Gary Hart believes," said one Georgia state senator last week, "I would be hard pressed to say. I guess it's his age—he's young—and the fact that he is not connected to the past."

Most Americans know little of Hart or what he stands for. But in the volatile crucible of U.S. politics, each opponent's background can suddenly transform themselves into overwhelming advantages. Hart, a man who believes passionately in his own destiny, has somehow released a political tidal wave. The Hart campaign adds it a miracle. It may take another miracle to stop it. □

THE PHILIPPINES

The divided opposition



Boycott supporters rallying in Manila, leading a clear electoral advantage to Marcos

Disunity and defections in recent weeks have plagued supporters of opposition forces to boycott the Philippines' National Assembly elections in May. Many key political figures who had agreed to the boycott later pledged to participate in the campaign. But last week the boycott organizers mustered a display of support for their position that the elections are a sham. A ragtag army of 50,000 peasants, students and other workers converged on Manila's Rizal Park, burning red and yellow banners denouncing President Ferdinand Marcos and the May 14 vote. "Now do you believe ap?" a widely cited Manila writer activist, Nemesio Olivares, asked journalists. "Now do you believe there is a boycott movement?"

Still, the rally mass demonstration could not make the absence of the Philippines' most influential opposition figures, who have rejected the boycott. Among them is Corason Aquino, widow of Benigno (Ninoy) Aquino, Marcos's chief opponent until his April 8, 1983 assassination at Manila airport.

Former Senator Salvador Laurel, who leads a 12-party coalition, the United Nationalist Democratic Organization, is also joining the boycott. The recent defections have sparked open disputes among the nation's oppo-

sition parties. In turn, the splits have given a clear campaign advantage to Marcos and his ruling New Society Movement. Marcos's political affirmations, Leonardo Perez, boasted that the ruling party "has the political machinery while the opposition is hopelessly divided."

At first, opposition leaders refused to participate unless Marcos gave up his extraordinary powers to dissolve the assembly at any time and to rule by decree. Then, last month opposition leaders began to break ranks. Laurel explained that his boycott pledge had been a "tactical move," adding, "It is not realistic to expect Marcos to grant these demands." In addition to the split of the parents, members of Aquino's own family have opened publicly. His brother Aguirre (Rene) Aquino, a popular political figure, has staunchly defended the boycott even though Aquino's widow rejected it. Referring to her public image as the defender of moral responsibility, he charged, "She has not lived up to that reputation."

Last week the elections on the last hope to oust Marcos without resorting to violence. The numbers that the opposition could win 60 to 70 per cent of the 160 seats in the assembly (11 new seats less than 120). Even with 60 per

say, he says, "We can get together and present proceedings against Marcos under way." But his most ardent supporters insist that anyone who participates in the vote will only improve Marcos's tarnished international reputation. Liberal party spokesman Abenides Benavides also charges that the government could rig the balloting process. "You say you're voting but lose the counting," he said.

Still, Marcos is under heavy pressure from Western allies—and creditors—to hold free elections in Washington, Congress is considering the first installment of a \$600-million, five-year rental payment for U.S. military bases in the Philippines. Some U.S. legislators have suggested that approval be contingent on their election. Meanwhile, officials of the International Monetary Fund have also expressed concern about the vote's impact on the nation's ability to pay its \$25-billion foreign debt. Marcos moved to allay creditor concerns by introducing stiff austerity measures last year designed to bring the economy under control. Already, imports have slowed drastically while the value of the nation's currency, the peso, has plummeted by as much as 50 per cent.

Meanwhile, the outwardly confident leaders of Marcos's party also are trying to resolve their own internal disputes privately. One problem: The party's central committee faces a choosing candidates for the 1992 available seats from among 1,700 loyal party workers who have sought nomination. In one high-level power play, said government sources, the president's ambitions with Imelda, demanded that Foreign Minister Cesar Virata drop his bid for the nomination in his home province of Cavite, where she had hoped to sponsor a friend. But Marcos decided that Virata, an internationally respected economist, needed a popular mandate to keep his cabinet post. Imelda, meanwhile, will retain her cabinet post as minister of human settlements, an appointment that Marcos made himself. As well, observers say, Virata is confident that she still intends to succeed him.

But the maneuvering has not affected the party's ability to campaign. Activists are wearing the electric blue with attractively packaged land reform schemes and massive cash inducements to local districts in the form of development projects. And even if the opposition were to topple Marcos at the polls, he will still control the National Assembly. A new bill sponsored by Perez would allow him to appoint a total of 37 assembly members of his own choosing. "We're not going to let the 40 million inhabitants of the Philippines, therefore, the May elections are likely to be only an exercise in frustration."

—LIZ NEUMANN in Manila

THE PERSIAN GULF

A war of chemicals and kids

As the Persian Gulf war between Iran and Iraq entered its third month, the struggle assumed grim proportions. European medical experts confirmed last week that Iraq had used chemical weapons against Iranian troops during the recent three-week-old series of offensives. In Baghdad, authorities displayed six Iranian boys captured during the battles. And Iranian religious authorities have reportedly closed many schools to encourage teenagers to fight at the front.

Iraq at least \$60 billion in aid since the war began. But others openly support Iran's Shi'ite Muslim revolution or fear alienating their own Shi'ite populations by opposing Tehran in the war. As a result, Iraq still needs massive infusions of money and munitions to continue the war. Last week Hameini betrayed a growing sense of desperation by calling for an urgent high-level Arab conference this week to discuss the conflict.

Meanwhile, Baghdad's military strat-



Austrian doctor displays Iranian soldier's wounds: a new and desperate phase

Independent confirmation of the chemical warfare report was difficult to obtain because neither side allows observers access to the front. But after examining wounded Iranian soldiers flown to Vienna for treatment, Austrian medical authorities declared that burns covering as much as 40 per cent of the soldiers' bodies were identical to those seen on victims of mustard gas attacks during the First World War. For its part, Iran claims that Iraq used nitrogen mustard, a deadly blistering agent similar to mustard gas. But, as United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar ordered an investigation, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein denied that his country had resorted to chemical warfare.

Meanwhile, Iraq has moved to an additional political blow to a regime that is already struggling with economic and military problems. Several Arab nations have given

edges have proved ineffective. Despite clear superiority in the air and with heavy artillery, Iraqi forces still cannot make significant advances against Iranian troops. Indeed, on Feb. 26 they suffered a stunning setback when ill-equipped Iranian forces took control of the man-made island of Majnoon in the oil-rich marshlands north of the key Iraqi Gulf port of Basra.

At week's end, U.S. intelligence sources warned that Iran has mobilized as many as 100,000 troops for a major assault. Then the speaker of Tehran's parliament, Mohammad Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, suggested that his country would accept sovereignty over Majnoon, an indication that Iran may be prepared to negotiate. But diplomatic circles in Baghdad said that Hameini cannot agree to a solution that would represent such a loss of face. —JAMES HITCHCOCK in Toronto, with correspondents' reports

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Meziane: a major shift of allegiance

The decision was the climax of months of uncertainty over the future of the May 17 group withdrawal agreement between Lebanon and Israel. After a two-hour special meeting at President Amine Gemayel's Be'elaba Palace in Beirut, cabinet secretary Shouk Meziane announced officially that the U.S.-orchestrated agreement was dead. Said Meziane: "The Council of Ministers has decided to cancel this unjustified accord, consider it null and void and after everything that they have rendered from it." That decision, widely expected after Gemayel's Feb. 20 visit to Syria, had far-reaching effects. On the one hand, it opened the way for renewed national reconciliation talks among the country's warring factions. On the other, it signalled a major shift of allegiance—toward Syria—for the tiny country of Lebanon, traditionally regarded as a bridge between East and West. For Israel, that posed urgent problems, and officials in Jerusalem reacted angrily as strategists sought new ways to meet possible threats on Israel's southern border. Asked Israeli Tourism Minister Avraham Sharrar "How can we ever enter into future accords with the Arabs if they can be allowed to disregard them at will?"

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shazar pointedly refused from comment. But Avi Panner, a spokesman, spelled out the government's position. Syria, he said, had forced Lebanon to surrender to a policy that is "inesta-

ment to a death sentence on Lebanese independence." Because Lebanon had "proved unable to honor its international obligations, Israel on its own will find suitable means of protecting its security."

By week's end a bitter internal debate was growing in the country on the future of Israeli troops in southern Lebanon. Said Opposition Labor Party Leader Shimon Peres: "The Israeli defense forces are not a garrison army, and the abrogation of the agreement has not given Israel carte blanche to remain indefinitely." But former defense minister Ariel Sharon, who escaped from a later bomb incident while touring Israel's Arafat River defense line north of Sidon, said that he would



Panner: for Israel, a bitter internal debate

oppose any Israeli pullback that did not guarantee the security of the northern border.

Said Lebanon's unilateral action also raised hopes in the war-weary country for an end to a struggle that last year alone claimed an estimated 3,000 lives. This week at the elegant Beaa Rivaage Hotel in Louarnesse, de Gaulle, Gemayel and eight Christian and Muslim leaders were to resume discussions, abandoned last November, on the federalist union underlying nine years of strife. How to initiate acceptable reforms that will fight the balance of power between the 1.4 million Christians who dominate Lebanon's government and the country's two million Muslims.

The goal of the Lebanese summit is

to create a new unity of purpose in government. But Muslim spokesmen have made it clear that they will not join the effort unless an agreement on the principle of reform is reached first. Said the Druze official who is writing the final draft of the Muslim position paper: "There will be no compromise. Otherwise, every time there is a change in demographic terms they will fight again. We do not want a civil war every five years."

Christian leaders also adopted a hard line. Furnit Lebanon president Camille Chamoun of the National Liberal Party, and veteran Phalange chief Pierre Gemayel announced in a joint statement that they would attend the meetings. But they also said they would not discuss constitutional reform until Lebanon is "liberated"—a reference to the fact that 70 per cent of Lebanon is occupied by Syrian, Palestinian and Israeli troops.

Moreover, endless signs appeared that the younger generation of Christian militia fighters, grouped under the "Lebanese Forces" banner, may attempt to sabotage the new peace effort. A militia announcement last week called for the mobilization of all Christians for a "resistance campaign" and described the fight against Syrian domination as a "holy duty." As the official committee that followed abrogation of Lebanon's treaty with Israel collapsed late last week, it was clear that resistance to co-operation on all sides may well dash the country's chance of an orderly end to its bloody civil war.

—ANN STOLARSKY in Beirut, with Robin Wright in Beirut and David



Panner, 'a death sentence for Lebanon'



U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz greeting Kohl, willingness to compromise

THE UNITED STATES

New hopes for limits on arms

The longest-running show in arms control—the decade-old East-West negotiations on conventional forces in Europe—resumes this week in Vienna. And, while the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) talks have attracted less attention than the now-suspended talks on theatre and long-range nuclear weapons, prospects for agreement seem better. Said Ambassador Jonathan Dean, of the Washington-based Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: "The Vienna talks are by far the furthest advanced of all the arms control negotiations. With the right push, they might be the most amenable to success."

What gives rise to that cautious optimism is that both Washington and Moscow have indicated that they are willing to compromise. During the 1983 summer session, the Soviets for the first time offered to accept on-site verification of troop levels.

Last week the Reagan administration made its own careful concession on the divisive matter of existing force levels. Declaring stations about one million men in Europe, but the West insists there are 180,000 more troops than the East admits to maintaining. Washington's new proposal is to establish a data base that would only count forces, not the plethora of auxiliary units.

The new round of talks will have to explore the nuances of the verification and troop counting proposals still, ob-

servers believe that the political impetus will lead both Washington and Moscow toward agreement. Seeking resolution, President Ronald Reagan wants to demonstrate his commitment to arms control with tangible progress, and the USSR is the only power in town. Meanwhile, Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko, attempting to revive détente, could use an accord as evidence of his good faith. Indeed, the Warsaw Pact last week suggested "preliminary consultations" between the two alliances to freeze military budgets and ultimately reduce them.

Washington withheld official comment, although senior cabinet officials discussed the Warsaw Pact proposal and the troop reduction talks initiated with visiting West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl last week. Kohl has been actively promoting a Reagan-Chernenko summit to help defuse East-West tensions. The White House regards an early meeting as politically desirable but unlikely, for practical reasons. Still, both Reagan and Kohl agreed that any summit should be "well prepared"—that is, certain to produce concrete results. There is some speculation that the administration is conducting secret back-channel discussions with Moscow, aimed at laying foundations for a summit. But there is no hard evidence that such talks are under way or, if they are, that they will yield success.

—MICHAEL POMERIN in Washington

EL SALVADOR

A violent start to the election

It was 99 p.m. when their barking dogs ambushed the villagers of Guadalupe, in El Salvador's San Vicente province, and alerted them to the guerrillas' arrival. Five hours later the insurgents moved out—after dynamiting the town hall, leaving six bodies behind. Two of the dead were Red Cross workers who had driven from the provincial capital of San Vicente to evacuate a wounded man. The murder of the Red Cross workers, the first in the El Salvador's four-year civil war, produced an outpouring of grief in San Vicente. Almost the entire population of 12,000 followed the two coffins to the cemetery. But the guerrillas' clandestine radio station, Radio Venceremos, was silent. It merely said, "Government soldiers were marching behind the ambulances."

The army swiftly disclosed that claim. But the incident marked a new stage in the guerrillas' "political military" campaign in advance of the country's scheduled March 25 elections for a new president and constituent assembly. Last week, as the U.S. Senate deferred until March 23 its decision on a Reagan administration request for \$90 million in emergency military aid for El Salvador, troops and guerrillas fought a series of battles.

The army also went into action to quell widening labor unrest, which has affected as many as 35,000 government workers. Troops with assault rifles barred strikers from entering offices and plants of the country's food distribution agency. Along with water supply and social security personnel, all members of the left-wing United Labor Movement, the food workers claim they want higher wages. But the government says the strikers are intended to disrupt the election campaign.

Indeed, violence did overflow into the political arena last week. Right-wing extremists machine-gunned the public relations office of former president José Napoleón Duarte's centrist Christian Democratic Party. The move extended against Christian Democrats attempts to bar the extreme right's candidate, Maj Roberto D'Aubesson, from the presidential race. They claimed that D'Aubesson, who was denied a visa to visit the United States last week, had links to El Salvador's right-wing death squads. The situation is both confusing and bloody, and it is unlikely to be resolved before—or even after—voters have cast their ballots.

—PAUL BLUMAN in San Salvador

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"We have to rethink the ways we develop and manage policies."

Mike Bregazzi

Vice-President Planning and Development, Gulf Canada Limited

In our submission to the Macdonald Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada, Gulf Canada suggested initiatives in ten areas that we believe to be key in dealing with the Canadian economy of the future. Obviously, we do not expect that all Canadians will agree with our proposals. But we do believe that it is important for all Canadians to be looking now for ways to cope with the changes we are going to face in the future - because these changes will affect everybody.

Canada cannot afford the luxury of sitting back for some indefinite period to study our difficulties.

Our competitors on the world scene are moving now. If we are to maximize our potential, we must move to respond to this challenge.

The ten areas that we believe to be particularly important in dealing with the uncertainties that Canadians are going to continue to face are:

- ☐ Adjustment to World Economic Developments
- ☐ Public Policy Formulation
- ☐ Industrial Strategies
- ☐ Labour
- ☐ Trade
- ☐ Research & Development
- ☐ Competition
- ☐ Government Spending and Regulation
- ☐ Foreign Investment
- ☐ Energy Policy

Here is a summary of what we said in six of these areas in our submission to the Royal Commission:

1. Adjustment to World Economic Developments

For several reasons, many of them valid, Canadian industrial policies have typically been designed to preserve the existing industrial structure rather than change it.

But failure to adjust carries a price tag.

Perpetuating uneconomical in-

dustries ultimately contributes to domestic inflation and even more severe adjustments.

In general, both industry and labour are capable of adjusting to shared market conditions without Government involvement.



Mike Bregazzi is Vice-President, Planning and Development for Gulf Canada Ltd. Mike was born in Middleborough, England, and earned B.Sc. and Ph.D. degrees from London University. During his two decades with Gulf, he has worked in a variety of areas including Research and Development, Chemicals, Corporate Planning, Pipelines, Marketing and until recently was Vice-President, Production & Development. Gulf Canada Resources Inc. One of Mike's favourite past-times is chess with his son Steven.

For instance, in response to declining demand, Canada's petroleum industry shut down 44 per cent of its refining capacity in eastern Canada between 1979 and 1983.

In exceptional circumstances - where an entire industry is threatened - Government assistance should be time-limited and aimed at alleviating the structural changes that will take place.

2. Public Policy Formulation

Getting through the restructuring and dislocations that Gulf Canada's forecasters are expecting will require close co-operation among Government, labour and business.

In recent months there have been some encouraging signs. The Federal Government has been placing greater emphasis on consultation.

We at Gulf Canada have received support from a number of quarters for our proposal to create a small advisory group made up of representatives from the three sectors.

However, despite these encouraging signs Canada still has no mechanism to facilitate consultation.

Whatever approach is taken, Canadians must start working together to solve our problems and plan for our future.



This addition to Gulf's Edmonton Refinery cost \$360 million. Over 50% of this money was spent in Canada to pay for technology engineering, labour electronics, steel, concrete. These millions of dollars flow to provinces across Canada creating jobs from coast to coast. Gulf Canada believes that the petroleum industry can be a major long-term contributor to the nation's future. Under a modified fiscal regime, the industry would have more money for the exploration and development activities that not only contribute to Canada's energy supply but also stimulate the creation of jobs.

3. Industrial Strategies

There has been little unity or coherence to Canadian industrial policy. For instance, energy, foreign investment and competition policies work at cross purposes to our trade and economic development objectives.

There is a need for a co-ordinated approach to economic policy involving trade, taxation, competition, labour research and development, industrial and stabilization policies.

This does not mean greater Government involvement in the affairs of specific industries but rather a co-ordinated approach to economic policies.

Government should give direction and facilitate the adjustments.

But the decentralized marketplace should provide the basis for resource allocation decisions.

4. Government Spending & Regulation

Governments in Canada impose a multitude of regulations on virtually all of our actions.

Some of it is necessary

But the extent to which we have become a regulated, provided-for society is excessive, intrusive and very costly.

Spending is out of control. The deficit continues to mount.

Governments, at all levels, need to reassess their priorities and programs to determine those that are both necessary and affordable.

5. Foreign Investment

Historically, foreign investment has contributed significantly to the growth of the Canadian economy.

Recent policies that have discouraged foreign investment have been largely political in nature - motivated by nationalistic rather than economic arguments.

Screening of foreign investment may be considered desirable.

But it should be done in a straightforward, efficient manner to avoid discouraging an important contribution to economic growth for Canada.

6. Energy Policy

The National Energy Program must be reviewed.

To quote a study published by the non-partisan C.D. Howe Institute:

"The NEP was introduced to Canadians as a solution to the nation's energy problems. It promised to unite Canadians and to make them prosper. In its first two years of existence, the NEP has proven to be a major disappointment. New energy challenges are emerging that are quite different from those the NEP was designed to deal with. A reassessment of Canada's energy objective is already overdue."

As a start, Gulf Canada recommends the following measures:

- ☐ Eliminate the discriminatory aspects of Petroleum Incentive Payments (PIPs) and introduce an exploration incentive system that treats companies equitably.
- ☐ Eliminate the back-in provision that allows the Federal Government to claim, retroactively, 25 percent of discoveries.
- ☐ Stimulate industry activity - and thus job creation - by taking less money out of the industry. Under the current system, money that could be going toward finding and developing new petroleum energy is taxed away before we have a chance to reinvest it. We suggest that the fiscal regime be modified to give the industry a chance to make a greater contribution to Canada's economic recovery.

For the complete text of Gulf Canada's submission to the Macdonald Royal Commission, write to:

Bob Penner,
Director - Public Affairs,
Dept. 401M,
Gulf Canada Limited,
130 Adelaide Street W.,
Toronto, Ontario. M5H 3R6



GULF CANADA LIMITED

Sideways: A merican actress **Sherry Weaver**, 34, got used to her-owning movie stunts while filming *The Year of Living Dangerously*. Alex and Ryan: On the Los Angeles set of her latest film, *Ghostbusters*, Weaver again found herself in a perilous situation, surrounded by dust, smoke and fragments of a wall that exploded in front of her. Typically, she did not even finish the film, her first comedy, in a departure for the actress, who is working with several Canadians for the first time—including director **Ivan Reitman**. Weaver plays a hard-nosed cop who is a refrigerator full of demons and she revels in being straight man to comedians **Bill Murray**, **Harold Ramis** and Canada's **Dan Aykroyd** and **Rick Moranis**. "Comedy is fun because it's a team effort," she said. "I took this film because I wanted to work with 'the boys,' and they have been wonderful. Canadians are all right."



Weaver: Surrounded by dust, smoke and pieces of a wall

Lisa Silva, 35, the red-headed leader of New York's volunteer crime fighters, the Guardian Angels, has literally changed hats. Launching a new career as a high fashion model, Silva found herself closing designer boutiques on ABC-TV's *Morris* show last week. Although she had to shed 15 lb and undergo an unprecedented amount of prepwork for her new

Silva: still patrolling subways



profession, she feels there are advantages. "It is sad that of all the things I have done, getting on makeup, dressing up and having my hair done is the thing people respond to," she admitted. "But at least women see that I can be glamorous and still be strong." The stalwart Silva still patrols the city's subways in her spare time, but her modeling fits board her message more from spreading engagements. For \$350 to \$500 an hour, Silva is willing to doff more than her head. For an upcoming issue of *Us* magazine she discarded her jeans and sneakers in favor of a minidress and high heels, which, she said, "I practically had to use a stapler to get into."

Louie LaPere, who resigned as an anchor for CBC's controversial 1983-1985 public affairs show *This Hour Has Seven Days*, has changed his course. Politicians, especially, often cover at the prospect of finding themselves on the hot seat, but now the veteran broadcaster is preparing to equip them for battle in his speaking book, *How to Get Even With the Media*. The book will suggest counterattacks when, for instance, a person is consistently misrepresented by the media. LaPere, currently the host of Vancouver's CBC TV talk show *LaPere's People*, won the 1985 Gordon Sinclair Award for Out-

spoken Opinions and Integrity in Broadcasting. But he insists there is no "biasocracy" involved in his reversal. "I am writing the book for two reasons: to make extra money and because I sometimes think the media get away with murder," said LaPere. "I just want the content to be more even."

The homecoming was \$1 for a hero. When **Gustav Boucher** returned to Canada last week after an arduous 2½ months in Europe which netted him three Olympic medals and the world sprint speed-skating championship, throngs of reporters and a crowd of 1,800 basket-weaving well-wishers crowded Montreal's **Michel Airport** to greet him. An hour later a Canadian Forces helicopter flew Boucher, 35, and his West German fiancée, speed skater **Karen Plagge**, 21, to his nearby home town of St-Hubert. This month Boucher will make several public appearances at awards dinners and he hopes to use his popularity to raise funds for cyclist **Jocelyn Lovak**, paralyzed in a road accident last August, and his wife, **Sylvia Berka-Lovak**—one of Boucher's early mentors. He resumes training in May, but is not sure he will compete in the 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary. "I don't want to skate in Calgary if I am going to win anything less than a gold," he said. "It would be a letdown."

Boucher at Mirabel: a hero's welcome



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Turner and wife, Gail; the Peter Piper Inn; Miller (below): a \$3.17-million deficit and a cease-trading order

BUSINESS/ECONOMY

Turner's losing venture

By Ian Austin
and Arthur Johnson

The company's name seemed suggestive, and its well-known top executive gave the enterprise an aura of glamor and success. So when Infinitum Growth Fund Inc. was launched in Toronto as a venture capital firm in early 1980 with former federal finance minister John Turner as its chairman, it had no problems in attracting about 1,800 small investors who paid \$4.5 million for its stock. But the security of their investment became a mystery in September, 1982, when Infinitum stopped releasing financial statements—a situation so serious that in May, 1983, the Ontario Securities Commission (OSC) imposed a permanent cease-trading order on Infinitum shares. Then, last week, the company finally issued a financial report—the first in 13 months. In that report, obtained by *Maclean's*, Infinitum revealed that it is struggling under a \$3.17-million deficit and that three of its seven investments were either liquidated or went into receivership.

In an interview with *Maclean's*, Turner described the delay in informing shareholders of Infinitum's condition and the subsequent actions of the OSC as merely "a technical problem." He says the company is now on the mend,

pointing to a small profit in the first half of last year. Still, the revelation of Infinitum's problems and Turner's involvement with them comes at a crucial time: the Bay Street lawyer was to announce his decision this week about whether or not he will enter the race for the leadership of the federal Liberal party.

Until he resigned as chairman last September with the OSC freeze still in effect, Turner presided over Infinitum's quarterly board meetings and two annual meetings. Now, although he remains a director of the company, Turner will not have to face shareholders when Infinitum holds its long-delayed annual meeting later this month. By that time shareholders will have received the latest report, showing that the troubled company ended its 1982 fiscal year with a staggering \$2.90-million loss.

Infinitum, formed to take advantage of an Ontario government program that opened private sources of venture capital to small business, was an unlikely addition to Turner's blue-chip portfolio of corporate directorships. After resigning from politics in 1979, Turner joined the prestigious Bay Street law firm of McMillan Birrell and was recruited to join the boards of almost a dozen corporations. Among them: Massey-Ferguson Ltd. and The Seagram Co. Ltd. But

in 1980 two Ontario accounts also invited Turner to join in launching the smaller Infinitum. Publicly for the first time featured Turner prominently. One press release called Infinitum the creation of "a group of Ontario businessmen and professionals, headed by the former finance minister John Turner." Turner was a good drawing card for a fledgling firm entering an unproven segment of Ontario's financial markets.

Ontario's former treasurer, Frank Miller, made firms like Infinitum possible in his 1979 budget. At the time, with interest rates soaring and the economic climate shaky, small-businessmen found it difficult to raise money. Rather than offer direct government handouts, Miller attempted to attract high-risk capital through the creation of Small Business Development Corporations (SBDCs). Under the plan, the government offered investors \$300 in grants or tax credits for every \$1,000 they put into an SBDC. Those investment corporations, in turn, could raise as much as \$5 million under the program provided they eventually put the funds into Ontario businesses in selected areas employing fewer than 300 workers (determining the track record of SBDCs generally is difficult). Of the 549 established to date, all but 42 are private corporations and do not disclose financial information.)



Shortly after Miller's announcement Bruce Philip and John Hearn recruited Turner for Infinitum. While Turner had known both men for several years, he had also had previous business dealings with Philip. In 1976 Turner and Philip each purchased 10 per cent of Toronto-based On Investments Inc.—a firm investment tax shelter which eventually went bankrupt.

Turner told *Maclean's* that he agreed to be chairman of Infinitum and that he received \$45,000 in Centre Management Corp., the company set up to operate and partially own Infinitum—because he thought there were "a good initiative." Although Turner has no direct investment in Infinitum itself, he said that the 1,000 people who have invested should not be concerned. Stud Turner: "The company is still viable and reasonably well positioned." The problem, as Turner sees it, does not lie in the investments but in, as chairman, and the other board members approved. Instead, Turner blames the resurgence of the past three years and the risky nature of small-business investment for the firm's troubles. Now that Canada has recovered from the recession, Turner remains optimistic about Infinitum. As he put it, "companies turn around."

Still, Infinitum's financial statements reveal that the recession was not the only factor in the demise of its three holdings. Some examples

West Maitland—a 40-per-cent interest in Reservoir Holdings Ltd.—was a two-time loser. Infinitum used loans and direct investment to gain its interest in the company, which made reinforced plastic mouldings. But by January, 1982, Infinitum was forced to put the company into receivership. Eventually, Infinitum struck a deal with Burlington Mfg. Mfg. Ltd., one of Reservoir's customers, which built reproductions of classic cars. Burlington Mfg. gave Infinitum 45 per cent of its stock in exchange for Reservoir's assets and a \$70,000 loan from Infinitum. But Mfg. encountered troubles when, as an annual report put it, its planned network of dealers in the United States and Canada "did not materialize." When a fire damaged Burlington Mfg.'s factory in January, 1983, the bank sued and collected Mfg.'s inventory and other assets Infinitum was left with nothing.

Northwood Wood Products Ltd. was already in trouble when Infinitum bought a 30-per-cent interest in it. Floundering for plywood supplies and problems with some of its "innovative production equipment," Northwood shut down its Klara, Ont., plant in November, 1982, is still equipment that Infinitum claims to be in a financial report would more than double the plant's potential production. But productivity was not the only problem NW had. The company was unable to effectively market its hockey sticks, and after poor sales cut losses, a liquidation was ordered. The firm again Infinitum recovered nothing.

When Infinitum invested in Northern Medical Industries Ltd., the company was attempting to overcome production problems with its line of disposable plastic hospital bags. Still, Infinitum was hopeful that the worst was over for Northern Medical. But, as Infinitum stated, "The effect of problems with U.S. distribution, further production difficulties, a limited range of products and certain management disagreements proved fatal." Eventually, a bank liquidated the firm, and Infinitum was left with a small recovery.

Infinitum also experienced troubles with its 20-per-cent interest in On Investments Ltd., a Toronto-based company that hopes to market an electronic monitoring system for hospital intensive-care wards. The company ran short of cash after Infinitum's investment because of development delays and

marketing problems and began seeking a financial investor in late 1982. But by the fall of 1982 the company's best prospect for an injection of cash decided not to invest. The company suspended operations, and Infinitum is now trying to sell On or find other financial sources at finance. On, for which Turner still harbors high hopes, was also a major factor in Infinitum's difficulties with the OSC. Turner said that while the unsuccessful refinancing efforts were under way, certain disputed methods used to value Infinitum's On holding. As a result, the auditors refused to approve Infinitum's fiscal 1982 annual report and a statement for the first half of 1984 until last week. Turner says that problem was the reason that Infinitum's investors were left in the dark for so long about their holdings' financial state.

In April, 1983, the OSC imposed a temporary cease-trading order because of Infinitum's lack of financial disclosure and set a hearing date for the next month. When the OSC heard Infinitum attended the hearing, the OSC made the order permanent. Turner said the OSC's freezing of Infinitum's shares related to "disclosures that were not fulfilled." But John Keybourne, the OSC's deputy director of enforcement, says that the permanent freezing was necessary to prevent trading orders lightly. They are, he said, "a fairly blunt instrument." Still, Infinitum appears poised to overcome its differences with the OSC. Last week, when telephoned by *Maclean's*, Hearn—who succeeded Turner as chairman—and said that the OSC's decision was in the process of being mailed out to shareholders. If the OSC declares the statements acceptable, it will lift the cease-trading order.

Once it is liquidated, the amount of Infinitum's losses will be \$3.17 million. The loss in 1982 of \$4.59 on each of their \$20 shares, they can take some heart from the results of the first half of 1984. In that period Infinitum made a profit of \$90,000, as well, two of its remaining investments, a firm that operates the Peter Piper Inn in Stouffville and D&C Kenney Industries Ltd., a London, Ont., truck-trailer maker, are successful (although as breakdown of the individual companies' performance is included in the annual report). Infinitum also has Fuxon Automation Inc., an electronic control company, to the Hewlett-Packard Co. In March, 1985, and realized \$107,000.

Turner acknowledges that Infinitum's overall record is adding to heartache. "We have not done too well in the last three years," Turner said. "Some situations work well, some less well." How Turner worked out in the private sector will become increasingly important if he decides to re-enter public life this week. □



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The aftershocks of the biggest deal

By Lenny Glynn

John Stock, who rose from North Battleford, Sask., and became the president of Gulf Canada Ltd. in 1976, has dreamed for years of making the huge petroleum company a Canadian-owned concern. In the past, the close Stock came to achieving that goal was four years ago, when Gulf's multinational parent, Pittsburgh-based Gulf Oil Corp., reduced its holding in the Toronto-based subsidiary by five per cent to 69 per cent. But last week the Canadianization of Gulf Canada suddenly be-

small oil firm with 1983 sales of \$407 million, launched a corporate raid on Gulf, whose 1982 sales totalled \$80 billion. Gulf initially failed to take Pickens and his group of neo-converts (including Vancouver financier Samuel Belinfante) seriously, but that only led to the giant's downfall. Last week Gulf's directors sold their company to rival Socal in a deal, but to keep Pickens's group from winning control. Socal's offer of \$80 (U.S.) for each Gulf share made the takeover a record-breaker in the wave of major oil company mergers that have swept the United States since 1979. And

to 70 per cent, government grants would cover 80 per cent of such costs. The stakes involved are enormous. Gulf received \$46 million in government grants last year to offset its frontier exploration costs.

Investment circles bubbled with rumors last week about the quest for the Gulf Canada prize. The list of possible suitors included Olympia & York Development Ltd., a Toronto real estate giant privately owned by the Reinhold family, as well as The Seagram Co Ltd., a Montreal-based distillery controlled by Charles and Edgar Bronfman. Re-

aftershocks from the moonshot take-over of the parent were still rattling into Washington, D.C. Caught on the heels of Texaco Inc.'s \$45-billion acquisition of the Getty Oil Co. in January, Gulf's biggest proponent another \$10-billion-dollar deal for U.S. brokers, lawyers and investment bankers. But the euphoria was undercut by worries about waning political tolerance for massive oil takeovers. Despite Socal's announced bid, Gulf's stock crashed sharply last week on rumors of mounting congressional opposition to the merger. Gulf shares dropped \$6 last week to close at \$45 on Friday, reflecting traders' fears that the merger may yet be derailed. The proposed merger would create a \$10-billion firm, third in size among energy companies behind the number 1-ranked Exxon Corp. and second-place Mobil Corp.

The Reagan administration's justice department has generally favored large-scale oil mergers, making anti-trust laws an unlikely threat to the deal. Indeed, Socal officials have already made it clear that, because of anti-trust laws, they will sell Gulf's gas stations and other assets where the combined companies' operations overlap.

But Congress appears much less complacent. Warned Louisiana Senator J. Bennett Johnston last week "It is our intention to stop them dead in their tracks—Pickens, Socal, everybody." Johnston is the ranking Democrat on the Senate energy committee and an outspoken critic of oil industry consolidation. Arguing Johnston "It seems to me decidedly not in the public interest to use up the nation's credit to create windfall profits and thereby divert funds from more useful endeavors such as drilling for more oil." Johnston plans to introduce a bill soon barring the Socal-Gulf deal and any other major U.S. oil company takeovers for a period of several months. The bill's chances of passing Congress before Socal's tender offer for Gulf shares expires on April 4, however, are slim.

Congressional opposition could ultimately put an end to what has been an astonishing scramble in the U.S. oil industry. With exploration costs for new oil rising sharply, many have found it cheaper to acquire new oil by buying up competitors and their reserves. That approach is all the more popular at a time when oil companies are attempting risky and costly projects in frontier areas where prices remain weak. Socal's average exploration cost for new oil is more than \$12 a barrel. Even at a total price of \$11.2 billion, Gulf's huge reserves seem a relative bargain at about \$6.50 a barrel.

The economics of buying up existing reserves is no attractive prospect. It has sparked seven of the largest takeovers



Stock (above), Pickens, a waiting game



in U.S. corporate history—all involving oil companies of steadily rising size. As last week's drop in Gulf's share price reflected, many traders are convinced that the sheer scale of Socal's bid will spark new laws on Wall Street to restrict, or even ban, further drilling for oil. Said Michael Metz, an investment manager for New York-based Oppenheimer and Co., "The whole game is over. If this deal goes through—and it probably will—it will be the last." Metz believes that during the upcoming U.S. election Democratic candidates will "make political hay with attacks on big oil." And he does not foresee the Republican administration coming to the industry's defense. Meanwhile, almost everyone involved in the Gulf deal is busy counting the winnings. If the deal is approved, Gulf's 270,000 shareholders will reap an appreciation of more than \$5 billion in the value of their shares. As well, the investment bankers advising Gulf and Socal stand to gain nearly \$60 million in fees, the bulk of it pure profit. The frenzied trading in oil stocks over the past few weeks has been a welcome bonanza for all securities firms amid an otherwise depressing year on Wall Street.

But by far the biggest winners are Pickens and his group of neo-converts. The Pickens group began its ascent on Gulf in an attempt to pressure Gulf's management to adopt policies that would boost stock values and returns to shareholders. Initially Pickens proposed that Gulf implement a complex "royalty trust agreement" which would have put some of Gulf's oil and gas properties into a new company and then turned the shares over to Gulf stockholders, who would have benefited directly from their revenues. But when Gulf fought back with corporate maneuvering designed to keep Pickens from winning a seat on its board, the Texas's group moved to buy outright control of Gulf.

By last week Pickens and his friends had bought about 25 million Gulf shares at an average price of \$45 each. As a result, Socal's \$80-a-share bid assures them of a profit of at least \$750 million. With about \$600 million of that destined for Pickens's takeover ally at Mesa, the U.S. Congress may have to act fast before he becomes again. As Frederick Leifer, an analyst with New York's Cynas J. Lawrence Inc., notes, Pickens's cronies in forcing Gulf into a shotgun marriage with Socal "has put the fear of oil into every major oil company." For Gulf Canada, as it seems word on its fate following the Socal deal, that fear is tempered only by the prospect that the subsidiary might finally pass into the hands of a Canadian parent.



Gulf Canada refinery: the Canadian energy giant was already being courted by would-be buyers

came a real possibility when Gulf's U.S. parent agreed to a takeover by Standard Oil Co. of California (Socal) for \$13.3 billion—the largest takeover in U.S. history. As a result of that deal, it appeared likely that Socal, because of Canadian regulations, would sell Gulf Canada to new, and possibly Canadian, owners.

The man who set that remarkable chain of events in motion was another small-town native—the now notorious corporate raider T. Boone Pickens Jr., from the Texas panhandle town of Amarillo. Six months ago few people beyond Wall Street had heard of Pickens. But people have evoked his name in tones of awe and anger across the United States since last fall when Pickens's Mesa Petroleum Co., a relatively

as a result, there were threats in the U.S. Congress to block the Gulf oil takeover and future large takeover deals.

The implications could be enormous for Gulf Canada if Socal is successful. Already Socal has indicated that it is likely to sell off the Canadian company. For one thing, Socal is not aware that Ottawa's Foreign Investment Review Agency would approve its ownership of Gulf Canada. As well, the National Energy Program makes further Canadianization of the Texas-based company highly unattractive. Currently, as a foreign-owned company Gulf is eligible for grants that cover only 25 per cent of the cost of its exploration programs in frontier areas like the Banff Basin. If Socal can raise its Canadian ownership

to 60 per cent, government grants would cover 80 per cent of such costs. The stakes involved are enormous. Gulf received \$46 million in government grants last year to offset its frontier exploration costs. Investment circles bubbled with rumors last week about the quest for the Gulf Canada prize. The list of possible suitors included Olympia & York Development Ltd., a Toronto real estate giant privately owned by the Reinhold family, as well as The Seagram Co Ltd., a Montreal-based distillery controlled by Charles and Edgar Bronfman. Re-

While Canadian takeover strategists plotted their bids for Gulf Canada, the



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Today's answer.

Waiting for the buck to stop

By James Fleming

Canada's shaky dollar began another week of decline last week when it fell victim to strong competitors in the flow of international capital. Already weakened by a month-long scramble like among foreign exchange traders to buy strengthening European currencies, the dollar suffered a double setback when forecasts of rising U.S. interest rates drove up the American dollar and sent Canada's into a tailspin. And even though the Bank of Canada intervened heavily to buy up

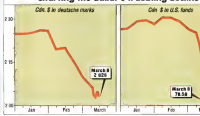
planned, had reacted to political uncertainty in Canada and the United States, due to the upcoming election, as well as to growing concern that the North American recovery was slowing down while European economies were finally picking up momentum. As a result, in the past five weeks both nations' currencies lost ground to increasingly robust German marks, French francs, Dutch guilders and British pounds.

But the mood of the computer-equipped traders in the international capital market changed sharply last week. The sagging U.S. dollar re-

lated by half a percentage point to 16.75 per cent, and spurred the Bank of Canada to increase the bank rate last week. Still, central bank governor Gerald Buzey has been reluctant to give the bank rate a larger boost and trigger a round of increases in corporate and consumer loan rates. Explained William Clarkson, vice-president of mortgages for the Toronto Dominion Bank: "The economy is very fragile and any major increase would be very damaging." Added Giorgio: "At present the Bank of Canada is more interested in focusing on domestic stability, and its officials are troubled by Canada's double-digit unemployment rate." Indeed, Statistics Canada announced last week that the unemployment rate increased from 11.2 per cent to 11.3 per cent in February.

By contrast, the U.S. unemployment rate fell to 7.7 per cent last month, the lowest level in more than two years. As well, Canada's 5.3-per-cent inflation rate in January was higher than the United States' 4.1 per cent. Many economists believe that the central bank will try to ride out the decline of the Canadian dollar without resorting to an interest rate hike to bolster the currency. According to Frederick Fowler, manager of Wood Gundy Ltd.'s foreign exchange department, that strategy will work if the expected rise in U.S. rates and the resulting flow of capital to the United States only lasts for about a month. Explained Fowler: "Unless the Canadian dollar is down for an extended period of time, there is little danger of inflation." But that is a hopeful scenario, based on speculation that any increase in U.S. interest rates will be short-lived. If U.S. rates stay high for a long period of time, the central bank may yet be forced to make a painful choice and raise the bank rate substantially to contain inflation, which increases by one-third of a percentage point for every one-per-cent drop in the dollar's value. For now, the investment community and consumers can only watch

Charting the dollar's troubling decline



the nation's weakened currency, by last Friday the dollar had slipped to 76.88 cents (U.S.), its lowest level in 28 months.

The most troubling result of the decline was the prospect that the central bank might be forced to increase interest rates, a move that would attract investments to Canada and buoy the Canadian dollar. Such a rate hike might be necessary because a prolonged fall in the dollar's value would increase the cost of imports and drive up the inflation rate, which in January stood at a comfortable 5.3 per cent over last year. The bank was clearly in a hurry to take such action, because it could have disastrous effects on Canada's fragile recovery. Still, the dollar's troubles only added to the worries of mortgage holders and businessmen, already shaken by a jump in the key bank rate to 10.25 per cent last week and an upward trend in mortgage rates.

According to Diego Giorgio, an economist with the Royal Bank of Canada, the nation's currency problems began early in the year when a massive outflow of capital from North America to Europe began. The market, he ex-

plained, had reacted to political uncertainty in Canada and the United States, due to the upcoming election, as well as to growing concern that the North American recovery was slowing down while European economies were finally picking up momentum. As a result, in the past five weeks both nations' currencies lost ground to increasingly robust German marks, French francs, Dutch guilders and British pounds. But the mood of the computer-equipped traders in the international capital market changed sharply last week. The sagging U.S. dollar re-

bounded suddenly against European currencies and the Japanese yen after Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker warned the markets with a two-pronged announcement. The U.S. economy appears to be expanding rapidly and a program currently before Congress to cut the deficit, which will hit \$295 billion by fiscal 1988, "will not alleviate pressures in the credit markets here and now." Analysts quickly concluded that Volcker would soon raise interest rates to stem a recovery-fueled increase in inflation, and, as a result, bond and gold prices tumbled and the dollar slumped.

Buzey facing a dilemma



The sudden resurgence of the U.S. dollar could not have come at a worse time for monetary authorities in Ottawa. Weeks of upward pressure on interest rates have already prompted several major banks to boost one-year mortgage

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BUSINESS WATCH

The Member from Winston's

By Peter C. Newman

As he languishes for the Liberal crown, John Turner brings with him into the campaign the advantage of being the only candidate true to the Liberal party's tradition in renewing its leadership. This has little to do with alienation between French- and English-speaking contenders, about which Turner cannot really say much, because he wanted to break that shade when he ran to succeed Lester Pearson in 1968.

What makes Turner such an apparent shoo-in is that, aside among the various candidates, he is firmly within the Liberal party's well-entrenched custom of passing the leadership on to outsiders. This was true in 1918, when William Fielding, a veteran insider, was bypassed for William Lyon Mackenzie King, who had been minister and deputy minister of labor and union-busting adviser to the Rockefellers. It was true when King anointed Louis St. Laurent, a Quebec City lawyer and a relative newcomer to Liberal ranks. The same pattern repeated itself when St. Laurent ignored the claims of Paul Martin and others to promote Lester Pearson, who had spent most of his life as a professional diplomat. Pearson is sure did his best to manoeuvre events so that Pierre Trudeau, whose previous party involvement had been with the NDP, would be his natural heir.

The miracle of John Turner, who served a full decade in Liberal cabinets, is that through the judicious application of shrewdness during the past 14 years, he has turned himself into just such an appropriate outsider. Alone of the party's potential future leaders, he can (and will, with a vengeance) disavow the Trudeau record, insisting that he had nothing to do with its many excesses and imperfections.

One example of how Turner tried to dissociate himself, even as a member of the Trudeau cabinet, occurred during the 1975 campaign when he refused to repeat the party's rainbow slogan, "The Land is Strong." "I never did some statements at the University of Winnipeg," I said it only once and that was to see if I could get it out without breaking up."

Current circumstances may make Turner ideal for the leadership, but whether or not he can overcome his party's poor showing in the Gallup poll is very much an open question. Certainly he has some distinctive advantages. He returns to politics at a time when not spending more money is no longer con-

demned as an unacceptable right-wing position, though his ideology was never as reactionary as his enemies have painted it. For Turner, liberalism is not so much a set of philosophical ideas as a state of impatience with the way things are and a willingness to experiment in bringing about improvements. A Pearson-style pragmatist, he is much more interested in workable ideas than in grandiose abstractions.

Turner believes that social welfare programs in this country have enhanced their effectiveness and that



Turner: the appropriate outsider

emphasis should now shift to incentives that will attack and cure the economy's structural ills. The chief source of Turner's policy advice is John Payne, a Montreal-based consultant who often worked for Pearson and has since acted as an external conscience for Liberal ideas. Payne, who not only has a good mind but understands the sweaty little arts of politics, has already drafted national policies on transportation, industry, environment, agriculture, resources and communications.

It will be interesting to watch where

Turner comes down on the issue of Canadian nationalism. As a Bay Street lawyer he has compared PIRA and the NDP to something just short of having the plague. But during his previous run (at a rally on March 26, 1969, at Richmond Hill, Ont.) he fully declared, "I am a Canadian nationalist." At the time, he supported the objectives of the Watkins report (which helped establish PIRA), attacked the extrajurisdictionality of American laws, and suggested that an Ottawa ministry be set up on foreign ownership and investment. "I know," he said, "that there are those who deplore nationalism. But they are wrong. I believe liberals in the next decade must give leadership in the continued pursuit of national independence."

In juggling himself up to take over the Liberal party, Turner faces the dilemma of not only having to reinvent himself into the streets of a political machine he abandoned nearly a decade ago, but of facing in Brian Mulroney a far more astute and powerful Conservative leader than Trudeau ever faced. The mathematics remain biased against a Liberal victory under any scenario, and if he takes the final plunge Turner could be facing a term or two in Opposition. But the Liberals like winners, and of all the outsiders that means a Turner's strength.

Turner's biggest problem will be to prove that he is acceptable to all wings of the party, not merely as a man who the reactionaries will claim can stem the "socialist" and/or "French" tide in national affairs. To achieve such a sense of unity, Turner will have to attract to the party what Trudeau once called "new guys with new ideas"—and make them stick.

"Leadership is more than magnetism or sex appeal," the Kennedy model of shrewd choice would not work in this country," Turner once said to me in the privacy of his parliamentary office. Then he moved on to a touch of mysticism. "Joining a political party," he said, "is like joining a church. It means a degree of commitment. You owe it to your leader to play according to certain rules. But you don't have to become an intellectual slave."

That dogma could take the Member from Winston's far along the Canadian political trail. But first he will have to loosen up his campaign style. In his previous run for the leadership, John Turner was charged with kinetic energy. But he was about as spontaneous as a computer.



THE AGONY OF DEPRESSION

By Jane O'Hara

In its mildest form, depression is known as "the blues" and it is a normal reaction to the chronic disappointments and low-grade frustrations caused by modern life. In most cases depression lifts and people get on with their lives. But for those deeply mired in its web, depression can be a debilitating disorder which inflicts body and mind with a lingering, soul-destroying sadness. Louise Malinsky, a Chicago mother of two, recalled a 1978 depression in which she spent six weeks curled up under the covers in bed. "I was paralyzed by fear. If I had the choice between a horrible disease and just two hours a day of the hell I was in, I would have chosen the disease." Recently, researchers have launched a renewed, almost feverish campaign to find a cure for people like Malinsky. But it has become a controversial quest. Throughout Canada and the United States the traditional assumption that depression is psychological in origin and can be cured on the couch is being increasingly challenged. Experts on depression are using brain-chemistry research in laboratories to try to decide the biochemical origins of the condition.

Although the exact causes and cures for depression have eluded scientists, its victims and effects are well-known. Researchers estimate that one in five Canadians suffers a major depression at some point in his or her life and that unemployment heightens the risks. "Wages are so low that people are often sick," said Dr. Vancouver Blair, director of Montreal's Douglas Hospital's Research Centre. "More people suffer depression than any other single illness." What they suffer from is a mood disturbance that causes feelings of worthlessness and despondency. Said Dr. Peter Brown, a depression researcher at McMaster University Medical Centre in Hamilton, Ont., "Depressed people tend to be very self-critical. It is as though they have their own beating sadness." They are not alone. Said Toronto teacher Elzavira Winkler-Petrine, who has battled depression all her life, "It rendered me virtually help-

less to do anything or to deal with anything." The psychological impairment is often accompanied by such physical malaises as sleeplessness, weight loss, headaches, vague pains and fatigue. Sufferers no longer care about normal daily activities and even pain that something has gone wrong in their head. Indeed, when Margaret Trudeau experienced a severe bout of depression in October, 1974, she described it as "a bloody revolution in my mind." Said Winnipeg mental patient rights activist Kendra June, who had to spend nine years in hospital because of schizophrenia and depression: "It was just a total helplessness, a powerlessness over my situation with no control over my life at all." Agreed Montreal mother of four Louise Galtin, who suffered a severe depression in 1975: "I was feeling like trash, dominant I would sit in the living room banging my head against the wall, wondering why this was happening to me."

Worldwide tolls increasingly, doctors and health officials have come to realize the worldwide toll that depression takes on individuals, families and society. According to Brown, depressed people have six times more mental failures and three times more serious problems in school than the general population. They are also more likely to be suicides. As well, studies have shown that people suffering from untreated depression have two to three times more heart attacks and are significantly more likely to die of cancer or succumb than the general population.

"The numbers take on startling significance when they are linked with studies that show that close to 75 per cent of all depression goes undiagnosed. According to Vancouver's Dr. Ronald Reischl, head of the Affective Disorder Clinic at St. Mary's Hospital, the reason so much depression remains untreated is that many people, especially men, think of it as a mental weakness that they do not want to acknowledge. Said Reischl: "Many people will just explain it away by saying they are having a bad day or a bad month related to some problem in their lives. Often, however, it is not psychological, it is physical. If people accepted that, there would



Grahame (right) with friend Diana Lowe: "Yarns out sick, my door and go to bed. Now a friend will climb through the window and sleep with me out."

be less stigma about going to a shrink, and people could get treatment."

The wide world with that depression rate through society has earned it a reputation among physicians as "the common cold of mental disorders." According to a 1983 study by the Geneva-based World Health Organization (WHO), titled *Depressive Disorders in Different Cultures*, an estimated 100 million people develop a recognizable depression each year. In the United States the Bethesda, Md.-based National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) estimates that depression costs \$20 billion every year in treatment and lost productivity. And medical experts world-wide assume that depression is on the rise.

At Montreal's Douglas Hospital, doctors diagnosed 25 per cent of the hospital's 3,600 psychiatric outpatients last



year as depressed. In Vancouver, psychiatrist Dr. Ingrid Passey said that depression is part of the problem for about 80 per cent of her largely female case load. Indeed, although modern society, with its stresses and stifling social values, did not invent depression, it appears to be on the way to perfecting it. Said Robert Wilson, a Vancouver industrial psychologist: "Although depression may be so prevalent as the common cold, it sure is not so easy to get rid of."

Pain: For families, the pain of living with a depressed parent, spouse or sibling is often unbearable and creates an enormous drain on emotional resources. The numbers of people who have sought help and information about depression have taken health officials by surprise. In Vancouver the local branch of the

Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA) recently held a three-night seminar for friends and relatives of depressed people. Within hours of the announcement of the meeting 200 people had signed up, and CMHA officials had to turn away almost 100 more. Said Christine Noon, a 25-year-old student who attended because she had watched a depressed friend experience severe anguish: "I think there is a collective depression around that is affecting more people now than ever before. It makes me angry that no one knows how to deal with it."

Discovering the root causes of depression has been a forbidding task and one that dates back to Hippocrates in the 4th century B.C. At that time, the Father of Medicine described depression as "darkening the spirit and making it

shortage" and concluded that it was caused by bodily "humors" and black bile. In the 1880s Sigmund Freud swallowed somnia to treat his own depression, then wrote *Mourning and Melancholia* in an attempt to explain its psychological causes. In the 1930s the discovery that electroconvulsive therapy (ECT) could snap severely depressed people out of their depression was a boon to psychiatrists who believed that it had biochemical roots. In the 1960s the widespread use of antidepressant drugs further fueled biochemical research into depression.

Stress: Researchers today universally acknowledge that depression is often a multifaceted problem. It is almost always linked to stress that acts in conjunction with an existing psychological or biological vulnerability. Said Reischl: "Psychological stress can trigger it, as it can come out of the blue. We do not know—except that the end stage is a medical illness." Indeed, the loss of a job or the breaking of a marriage can bring on depression. But, because recent biochemical evidence indicates that emotional changes affect the chemical activity of the brain, researchers now believe that it may cause brain chemistry may actually induce certain types of depression. It is a theory that is generating great excitement among biochemical researchers and concern among some other mental health professionals. In depression the problem is a shortage of two biochemicals, norepinephrine and serotonin. They are chemical neurotransmitters which act as messengers between nerve cells, conveying impulses throughout the brain. It is not known exactly why a

shortage appears to cause a mood disorder, but increasingly the correct guess is the neurotransmitter deficit. That, along with growing skepticism about the economic costs and effectiveness of psychotherapeutic counselling, has made antidepressant drugs the cornerstone of most clinical practice. Said Dr. Matthew Endicott, CMHA staff psychiatrist: "There is no question that biological psychiatry is in the ascendance. The reason is that psychological theories and therapies have neither explained nor helped all cases of depression, whereas some of the biological treatments do." He added that antidepressant drugs clearly work.

The search for answers to the biology of mood has recently created an array of psychiatric subspecialties involving geneticists, neuroscientists, virologists

and biochemists who are trying to discover how emotional states affect chemicals in the brain. In keeping with the trend, psychiatric training has begun to put increasing emphasis on biochemistry and neurology, and in most major North American centers there are now mood clinics involved in research. Although research is still in its infancy, the debate over whether depression is a medical disorder that should be treated with drugs or a psychological problem that must be treated with counseling has become highly controversial. Historically, mild to moderate depression was treated by therapists who ex-



Wellness (left): *Khanes: modern society did not invent depression but it seems to be on the way to perfecting it*

used the psychological and social factors that appeared to cause the depression. That eroded hours of psychotherapy designed to root out personal problems and find ways for people to cope with their lives. But if today's claims from the laboratory stand up, they may radically alter the way people are treated for depression in the future. Said Vancouver's Remick: "In 10 years we will have a simple test, something along the line of a throat culture, to diagnose whether people are depressed. Then we will simply start them on a suitable course of drugs. Anyone who does not believe that is in the Dark Ages."

The notion that depression is caused by faulty wiring in the brain has led to unprecedented research on the brain's chemical activity. That is why re-

searchers at Douglas Hospital are currently conducting experiments in which 60 patients undergo sleep deprivation for 26 hours at a time to determine the relationship between chemical activity, the body's internal rhythms and mood disorders. According to previous U.S. research, two rhythmic cycles in the brain control human activity—one oversees sleep and wakefulness, the other regulates body temperatures. In turn, those are controlled by what scientists call neuro-pacemakers—groups of brain cells that set like the quartz crystal in a watch to keep the body's cycles in order. The pacemakers transmit their regulating messages through the chemical neurotransmitter and ser-

otonin. Reports keep that in many cancer patients, depression after 40 years is months before doctors detect the cancer.

For decades studies of the chemical reactions in the brain have been hampered by the inability of researchers to physically test their theories. In the past, scientists were forced to do autopsies on brains to piece together the mechanics of the living organism. Now, the development of the PET (Positron Emission Tomography) scan, which can take computerized pictures of the brain, makes it possible to trace and photograph various biochemical activities in the brain as they occur. Even though researchers have discovered differences



in biochemical activity between depressed and normal populations, no one knows what those differences mean. Although there have been certain advances, research is still at a primitive stage. Ten years ago doctors thought there were only eight chemicals in the brain. Since 1980, however, scientists have identified another 48.

As well, depression researchers are beginning to understand that it is no longer sufficient to look for simple surpluses or shortages of neurotransmitters and serotonin. Instead, they now realize that a full understanding of how the two chemicals work with one another is more important. Said Rodhe: "We have always thought that serotonin or norepinephrine work on separate tracks, but now we think that there is a connection in the brain between the two

tracks which we now know exist. There is probably a lot more cross-talk between the two chemicals than we had ever realized. Clearly, a lot of our initial theories on this were quite simplistic."

Drugs: And while the public waits for definitive answers from the laboratory, more and more doctors have begun to treat depression by adjusting the body's chemistry with drugs. For one thing, it is often less expensive. And it is faster. However, in most cases the high degree of success claimed for drug therapy is achieved only with severely depressed patients. The drugs bring patients back to a level at which they can respond to psychotherapy. But in cases in which doctors prescribe such drugs

A web of hopelessness

When Susan Harley graduated from McMaster University in Hamilton, Ont., in 1979, her close friends moved away, and she experienced the pressure of starting a new life and a new job. At the same time, the man she was involved with suddenly became violent and began to subject her to physical and verbal abuse. Her world fell apart, and she fell into a cruel cycle of severe depression which lasted three agonized years. Said Harley: "It was pretty horrible. I was very frightened

responded by taking an overdose of the antidepressant, and doctors put her into hospital for a week. Said Harley: "I knew that the antidepressants were poisons I could not resist myself because they were readily accessible and lethal. It is ironic that they give those drugs to people who are suicidal."

During the next three years Harley's depression recurred, and she entered hospital seven times for varying lengths of time. But she also began to understand for the first time that other



Refetter in 'societal roots' for psychiatric patients: 'no question that biological psychiatry is in the ascendancy'

as, anorexia and anorexia nervosa for mildly or moderately depressed people, the results are far less clear.

According to Peter McLean, a psychologist at Vancouver's University of British Columbia, drugs do not work for almost 50 per cent of all depressed patients (see box). Some cannot tolerate the side effects, which range from blurred vision to skin rashes. In other cases, the drugs do not even ease the depression. Said UBC psychologist Keith Dobson: "We are not sure what the drugs actually do. They do not teach people anything about themselves. When they come off them, their attitudes are just as dysfunctional as ever." Agreed Winnipeg's Kendra June: "I never learned to cope with depression without drugs."

Even pre-drug researchers admit-

and confused" isolated, Harley turned inward. She began to have difficulty sleeping, and her appetite diminished.

Sleep: Desperate, she went to a Hamilton psychiatric emergency ward. She was referred to an outpatient clinic, and doctors there prescribed the antidepressant medication nortriptyline for her, but the pills made her feel worse. Over the next seven days she slept less and she often felt shaky and dizzy. When she complained about the side effects, her doctors merely increased the dosage. When the side effects became even worse, her doctor prescribed a new antidepressant, imipramine.

After five months she realized that the pills were playing havoc with her emotions. Recalled Harley: "Gradually I became more and more suicidal. I just wanted to just go on. I was just so much pain to go on." She

women had gone through a violent home life. Said Harley: "I realized that what had happened to me was not my fault and that I did not deserve it." In the fall of 1982 she decided to put a stop to the tortured cycle of hospital and drugs. "It was not easy—in fact it was hard work," she admitted. "But I decided that the pills were hurting me. It was just a matter of fighting, which has made things better." In October she resumed a job as a community information co-ordinator, and her life stabilized. Since then Harley, now 38, has experienced more episodes of depression but she has remained sane in the hospital and taking drugs. Said Harley: "Right now I feel a lot stronger than I have for years. I have some certainty that I will be able to get through things." —JENN ROBERTS in Toronto



Feeling ill? With the reason so much depression goes untreated is that people think of it as a mental weakness.

COVER

that today's antidepressant drugs are far from perfect. Although they may alter the chemical process that causes a patient's mood swing to a more normal level, they also affect parts of the brain that have nothing to do with the disease. Says Raskler, "We have a long distance still to go."

More importantly, perhaps, there is mounting evidence that certain widely prescribed drugs, which are used to combat stress and anxiety and to prevent hypertension, may also cause depression. According to Dr. John McNeill, a pharmacologist at UHO, Vancouver, the most commonly prescribed sleeping pill, can initiate depression if the dose is too high. It is particularly common in the elderly, who have more trouble breaking down the drug. It is also found that certain drugs, such as diuretics, used to allow sodium and sleeplessness in depressed patients, can also deepen depression. Says McNeill, "Anti-anxiety agents, by their nature, depress parts of the brain. In too high a dose they will depress all parts of the brain."

Psychoanalysis: Many researchers believe that the trend toward less-chemical treatment is not healthy. Says McMaster's Brown, "Fifty years ago psychiatrists believed that the only way to deal with depression was

through psychoanalysis. Now they have swung the other way. They want to do the whole packet and pretend they are interlards." USC's McLean believes that 70 per cent of all depression are caused by problems that arise from coping with life's challenges. He said "More and more people are trying to treat depression as a physical illness—but devoid of evidence. There is a real danger in mak-

ing it sound like an illness beyond one's control—that is, locked in by genetic codes that can only be helped by professional treatment. It deprives many people of developing personal coping mechanisms." Added Lester Kravitz, a Hamilton psychologist: "If the treatment is not holistic, including drugs if necessary, and therapy, then it is doomed to failure. We know that we can elevate moods with drugs, but people inevitably come back for more treatment if they don't restructure their thinking."

Selflessness: It is this attempt to outstrip the thinking pattern of people with a history of depression that occupies the other major wing of depression research. Many traditional psychologists explore the kinds of people who become depressed and the outside stresses that trigger the onset of the illness. In many cases, depressed people have a low level of self-esteem and experience their feelings of inadequacy by setting unrealistically high standards for themselves.

McMaster's Brown has identified two groups of depressed people. Type A is a hard attack-prone perfectionist and hard worker who tends to blame himself and feel guilty for all his failures. Type B lies outside himself to place the blame. Says Brown, "They are the ones most likely to go down to the fridge and stuff themselves with food."

Researchers also believe that a sense of powerlessness, of being unable to change one's life, is also a depressive trigger. To illustrate the concept, in 1987 University of Pennsylvania-based psychologist Martin Seligman introduced the phenomenon of "learned helplessness." Seligman clinically demonstrated what happens when humans learn help in themselves, the world around them or the future. In one experiment he wrangled Labrador retrievers in a restraining harness from which they could not escape and shocked them repeatedly. He then put the dogs in a cage divided along the middle by a low barrier. He first sent an electrical shock through the floor as one-half of the cage. The dogs could have jumped to the other side to escape the shock but they believed that they could not escape the current. As a result, the dogs rolled up in a corner and began to whimper. According to Seligman, the same response happens in depressed humans when they feel powerless to control the environment around them.

Unemployment: One example of the syndrome appears in depression among the unemployed, a group that has lost a job, combined with attendance at domestic and psychological changes, can create damaging stress. In a November, 1988, study called "Depression: Its Impact on Study and School," Toronto-based psychologist Sharon Kirsh explained how the unemployed lost their sense of self-worth and become increasingly powerless. They also tend to blame themselves for being out of work or laid off and begin to believe the conventional wisdom that the unemployed are lazy, unproductive and a burden on the system. Said Kirsh, "Who is more powerless than someone who has no income?" But by labelling their depression we are obscuring the power politics that creates that set of conditions. "Janet Tarasoff, a 64-year-old unemployed teacher in Vancouver, knows the feeling of depression well. She became depressed after losing her teaching job as a promise that she had been laid off by education cutbacks. Said Tarasoff, "When I got depressed I feel completely unmotivated. I feel listless

and angry. I can shake it as long as I am not talking to people, but if I am alone I just have that sad druggy feeling."

As well, researchers explain the disproportionate amount of depression in women by citing their positive or relative powerlessness in society that is caused by factors ranging from lower wages to their dependence on men. In 1978 British study called *Social Origins of Depression: A Study of Psychiatric Disorders in Women*, researchers George Brown and Tirril Harris dis-

covered something. One day the spot her job and within a week she had turned up on her mother's doorstep, 600 km away, without realizing that she had driven herself there. She checked herself into a hospital and doctors gave her electroshock therapy and drugs. Raskler's Graham said "It did not stop the depression. I knew the doctors were wrong, but no one to talk to." Today her depression recurred, but they do not last as long. And she has friends who keep a close watch on her. "I used to just lock my door and go to bed for a week," said Graham, who now works at Vancouver's Mental Patients Association. "But I do not do anymore. I have a friend who gives me one day and one with climb through the window and drag me out."

Social reality: Mental health professionals also suggest that women are more rarely looked into social roles, which can lead to depression. And there are new problems for today's upwardly mobile women, who try to free themselves of old expectations. Said Vancouver's Dr. Ingrid Froy, "I see women whose depression are due to leaving their, or trying to live with men or without them, who are having to do it. I see women who leave a lot of life to do with their conflict over social roles."

For Toronto's Eleanor Wright Palmer, 52, the worst depression struck at the age of 30. She was then heavily involved in the labor movement and wanted to become a union organizer, at that time an almost entirely female profession.

Explains Palmer, "I was the wrong sex at the wrong time in the wrong place." Although she was virtually blind, many health professionals did not take her depression seriously. Her family doctor said, "Oh, you young girls think too much about your selves." Her psychiatrist suggested that her problem stemmed from refusing to be "a traditional woman" and be allowed her to marry. Although her depression was far fewer today, she still believes that society trivializes women's basic problems. Said Palmer, "Women are still being told that if they accept society's point of view and conform, they will get better. That is entirely wrong. Through therapy I began

A CHECKLIST FOR DEPRESSION

The questionnaire is called *The Beck Depression Inventory* and was developed by Aaron Beck, director of the Center for Cognitive Therapy at the University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia. Respondents select a statement from each group, ranked one to three, and total their score.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. (0) I am not particularly depressed about the future. | 4. (0) I get as much satisfaction out of things as I used to. |
| (1) I feel discouraged about the future. | (1) I do not enjoy things the way I used to. |
| (2) I feel that I have nothing to look forward to. | (2) I do not get real satisfaction out of anything anymore. |
| (3) I feel that the future is hopeless, and that things cannot improve. | (3) I am frustrated or bored with everything. |
| 2. (0) I do not feel like a failure. | 5. (0) I do not feel sad. |
| (1) I feel I have failed more than the average person. | (1) I feel sad. |
| (2) As I look back on my life, all I see are a lot of failures. | (2) I am sad all the time and I cannot snap out of it. |
| (3) I feel I am a complete failure as a person. | |
| 3. (0) I make decisions about as well as I ever could. | 6. (0) I sleep as well as usual. |
| (1) I have had difficulty making decisions more than I used to. | (1) I do not sleep as well as I used to. |
| (2) I have greater difficulty in making decisions than before. | (2) I wake up to two hours earlier than usual and find it hard to get back to sleep. |
| (3) I cannot make decisions at all anymore. | (3) I wake up several hours earlier than I used to, and cannot get back to sleep. |

A total of 19 or more indicates possible symptoms of depression. If respondents score in that range, Brian Shaw, of Toronto's Clarke Institute of Psychiatry, recommends a consultation with a family physician or psychiatrist.

* Adapted with permission from Aaron Beck, "1988."

Research and research assistant disturbed and ill



to learn that I had tremendous anger and resentment at being forced into a mold. When I confronted that, the depression lifted."

In a disturbing new area of research, the psychiatric community has recently accepted the existence of depression in children. In 1967 Dr. Donald McKnew, coauthor with Dr. Leon O'Byrne of the 1980 book *Why Don't Johnny Cry?*, noticed symptoms of depression in children as young as 1 when he was treating at Columbia Presbyterian Hospital in New York City. When he asked lab technicians to check the children's blood for the same biochemical abnormalities that show up in the blood of depressed adults, they refused to conduct the tests because they did not accept his ideas on childhood depression. All that has changed, however. It is now estimated that two out of every 100 American children show major depressive symptoms. In October, 1983, at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Child Psychiatrists in San Francisco, almost one-third of the papers were devoted to childhood depression.

Subtle problems: Two of the principal causes of depression in children are the death of a loved one and moving away from friends and school. Depression usually underpins changes in behavior. A child who always enjoyed attending Cubo might suddenly show no interest. Other symptoms can include school problems, disturbed sleep or physical complaints about constant headaches or stomachaches when no real physical reasons are evident. Says McKnew: "Parents are marvelous at picking up external problems a kid is having. But they do not recognize the internal ones."

But even in developments in depression, the therapy is an uncoordinated pace, they provide little solace for those already afflicted by the terrifying, debilitating disease. Two leading therapies in depression research are cognitive therapy, which tries to rid people of to think more positively about the situation, and behavior therapy, which works on suppressing depressive behavior. Behavior therapy is more action-

oriented. Since most depressed people withdraw from pleasant activities and spend most of their time ruminating on their delusions, behavior therapy encourages patients to set goals and get involved in outside activities. Said McKnew: "The idea is to get people success-oriented. The goal is to be realistic, but people are depressed, and attracted by successful performance. That is powerful medicine."

Therapists often use behavior and cognitive therapy in combination. According to Dr. Aaron Beck, a psychi-

People do learn how to cope. We forget that nature has it. We would be abandoning people if we only gave them drugs."

Hopeloss: Like thousands of other Canadians who suffer from depression, Laurie Malinsky, the mother of two from Calgary, began attending a self-help group in 1978 to deal with her lifelong history of anxiety and depression. Those groups are a burgeoning movement, largely opposed to the mental health establishment, in the depression field today. At Calgary's Recovery Inc., Malinsky is a member of one of four groups that meet once a week. Group members avoid the term depression, referring to their condition as "lowered feelings." Seven years ago, when Malinsky was suffering from a severe depression which she described as "absolutely terrifying and hopeless," her mother took her by the hand to her first meeting. There, she met six other people who openly discussed their own problems. That gave her courage—and the feeling that she was not alone in a dark world of her own. After six to eight weeks of meetings she began to recover, and now she can cope.

Montreal's Louise Carlin almost committed suicide as a result of her depression. Now she is director of the Montreal-based Depressed Anonymous (literally, depressed anonymous), a 35,000-member network of 36 self-help groups for

the depressed in Quebec. Said Carlin: "Talking to the others helped more than the doctors or psychiatrists' did." A large step in recovery from the deep well of depression is the recognition of self-worth. Said Winnipeg's Kendra June: "I used to see depression as something wrong with me. Now I know that you don't have to be crazy to be depressed." Agreed Malinsky: "You learn that it's the trivial things like killing a cup of coffee, that can bring it on, and you learn to deal with that. I still have bad days, but they are no worse than anyone else's." For the depressed, that is a major victory.

Reported by Janet Rogers in Toronto, with Michael Gagliardi in Halifax, David Lushenko in Vancouver, Andrew Nyduski in Winnipeg, Susan Gieseler in Montreal, and Ann Philpott and Doug Sibbert in Toronto.



Peter Brown and assistant taking blood for chemical analysis; opposite

trist at the University of Pennsylvania who developed cognitive therapy in 1967, depressed people hold certain negative beliefs about themselves: "I'm stupid, worthless." "Everything's against me." and "What's the use of trying?" According to Beck, the lethargy merely feeds on itself and creates greater and greater distortions. Once caught in this web of hopelessness, the future begins to look bleak. The depressed person becomes locked in a vicious circle of self-reinforcement. Brian Shaw, a psychologist at Toronto's Clarke Institute of Psychiatry, heads the Canadian portion of a \$5-million study sponsored by Bethesda's NIMH to compare the relative benefits of drug therapy or two types of psychotherapy. Said Shaw: "For the moderately depressed, cognitive therapy is as effective as antidepressants."

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Learning why the body's defences fail

By Pat Oshendoff

For more than a decade medical scientists investigating the body's defences against disease have known precisely what they were looking for. Somewhere in the immune system there had to be a tiny chemical mechanism that, when it failed, allowed antibodies and co-ordinated the attack on them. Prominent laboratories devoted millions of dollars and thousands of research hours to the search for that agent because the stakes were high—success would be a crucial step toward explaining the mysterious ailments surrounding a host of crippling diseases, including rheumatoid arthritis, AIDS, multiple sclerosis and even cancer.

Last week that hunt ended as researchers in Toronto and Palo Alto, Calif., simultaneously reported success in locating and cloning a gene that produces the vital receptor known as the T cell receptor. Said virologist Tik Mak, 35, head of the Toronto research team, based at the Ontario Cancer Institute. "It is a very small tool, but we can get busy now and start building the whole house with it."

Indeed, other reports immediately followed the discovery, which the two teams reported independently in the British scientific journal *Nature*, as a major boost to disease researchers. President Ronald Reagan's grandson, Louis Donaldson, president of Canada's National Cancer Institute. "This will be the beginning of a plethora of discoveries that will surely have an enormous impact on many diseases that we have a very limited grasp on now," Leroy Hood, chairman of the biological sciences department at the California Institute of Technology, was equally enthusiastic and speculated on the possibility of developing a treatment for cancer. Dedared Hood, who is widely acknowledged as a leader in the field of immunology. "This is a tremendously important, very fundamental discovery."

Immunology, the study of the body's defense mechanisms, is a relatively young science; the first major breakthrough came from the 1960s. Research has established that there are two basic types of white blood cells that

are at the heart of the immune system. B cells, which develop in bone marrow, and T cells, which develop in the thymus gland. The B cells fight bacteria and viruses by forming antibodies against them. The T cells, however, are involved in the process of identifying foreign invaders and the body's own abnormal cells and modifying the battle

evening, when they made using similar methods. That was widely known in research circles that a "receptor" protein which co-ordinates the immune system was located on the surface of T cells, but no one had succeeded in isolating one. Still, most researchers were concentrating their hunt on one class of cells, called cytotoxic, attempting to pinpoint the receptor and then work back through a series of chemical steps to isolate the gene that could create it. But both Mak and Davis were looking for the gene, analyzing pieces of DNA, protein "copies" of genes, which direct cell activity—which they extracted from the thymus of T cells. Said Mak, who had the help of postdoctoral fellow Yoram Yanaghi and in eight other researchers. "The trick was to compare the T cell proteins to those of other cells and throw out anything that was not unique to T cells."

To some extent it was a hit-and-miss technique, which is why other researchers dismissed it as "too risky," and Davis. According to Mak, the other researchers' method to be "too single-minded, too steeped" in the idea of after cloning. "But both teams—Davis's working with mouse cells and Mak's with human cells—eventually isolated 10 genes that were unique to T cells before they found one that did the job they were looking for," said Mak. "We have found the entrance to a maze. Scientists around the world will use that entrance to find out what the maze is made of."

Their research is a new development on the last major breakthrough in immunology, made six years ago when scientists cloned a similar gene in B cells that makes antibodies. To the amazement of many experts at the time, the antibody gene was capable of rearranging its own sequence into almost countless permutations in forming antibodies. Said Davis. "Genes were supposed to be static, to just sit there and either be passed on as is." But after the B cell discovery scientists assumed that the equivalent gene in T cells would be similar, creating the elusive receptors, but the same capacity for rearrangement. But it was a difficult theory to prove. The

scientists studying B cells had the advantage of being able to work directly on antibodies, which are relatively easy to isolate. But, said Mak and Davis, succeeded with their technique, the fact that no one had been able to isolate a T cell receptor hampered research in that area. To date, the T cell receptor gene and the B cell antibody gene are the only two known to be able to rearrange themselves.

The immediate application of the new knowledge will be in furthering understanding of diseases with known links to T cell function. A variety of rheumatoid arthritis, multiple sclerosis, and storage the joints, may have faulty T cell regulation. With AIDS, the mysterious acquired immune deficiency syndrome which robs its victims of the ability to fight disease, the problem appears to be an insufficient number of helper T cells. The new research could also help scientists to understand severe combined immunodeficiency disease (SCID), which results from complete absence of B and T cells of any kind. He most famous victim, the "Bubble Boy," David, died last month at the age of 12 after being in a room all his life inside a clear plastic tent that isolated him from the world full of germs that he could not fight.

Specimens in organ transplants will also be interested in following up the discovery because they still do not fully understand how the immune system distinguishes the body's own cells from foreign ones. Now the availability of cloned T cell receptor genes will permit widespread experimentation in methods of avoiding transplant rejection. Scientists in various fields—Davis's working with mouse cells and Mak's with human cells—eventually isolated 10 genes that were unique to T cells before they found one that did the job they were looking for," said Mak. "We have found the entrance to a maze. Scientists around the world will use that entrance to find out what the maze is made of."

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The letters and telephone calls poured into Mak's lab in Toronto and Davis's in Palo Alto. As well as offering the genes to researchers, he gave them a batch of the newly cloned genes for use in their own experiments. California's pioneering Leroy Hood is so impressed by the new data that he and Mak are now collaborating, each of them contributing genes from Toronto and Palo Alto. "It is for certain that I wonder whether the reported discovery are the real thing, Hood discovered confidently. "I have seen that data and there is no question whatsoever that Mak and Davis have found the T cell receptor gene. Throughout the world, researchers are able to ready begin the task of building a new house of treatment from what Mak calls a "very small tool." ◇

MEDIA WATCH

A small paper that still believes in news

By George Bain

Under its title in that obligatory place on the editorial page in which a newspaper tells who, where and when, what, why and how, the *Brandon Sun* says, "An Independent Newspaper Serving Western Canada Since 1882." The capitals are warranted. An independent newspaper is rare enough these days, but no independent newspaper that is 105 years old and has a monopoly in a city of 37,000, the sort of terrain that long has been the favorite grazing ground of the voracious Thomson, is almost unheard-of.

The publisher of the *Brandon Sun* is Lewis D. Whitehead, who succeeded his father, Ernest C. Whitehead, who bought the paper in 1967 from a Will White, who founded it. The latest Editor and Publisher International Yearbook gives the *Brandon Sun* as Audi Bureau of Canadiana figure of 18,330, which places it in such company as the Charlottetown *Gazette* (17,040), the *Guahg*, *Out*, *Daily Mercury* (17,126) and the *Red Deer, Alta.* (16,708). The *Brandon Sun's* newsprint sales include one month's subscription in Britain—me.

What league that about was a telephone conversation in which a usually reliable source passed on to me the opinion of another usually reliable source—among those of an all—, that "The *Brandon Sun* is the Cadillac of small-city newspapers in Canada." At a time when the two notable justifications of at least some small-city newspapers are that they carry the Western Canadian food and service industry, that wrapping the package in the media is impractical, a paper capable of being called the Cadillac of small-city newspapers is clearly worth a look.

And the *Brandon Sun*, it turns out, is. For a start, it looks good. The makeup, presentation and format is a second-class broadcast format; with well-chosen and well-placed pictures, is attractive—and, what is rarer than may be imagined, the makeup goes all the way through. In too many newspapers the front page and the front of the second section are the only places where some care, but inside pages are a dog's breakfast. The *Brandon Sun* offers a good mix of local, regional, national and

international news. Several columnists appearing near or less regularly include Gwynne Davis (his men from the National Film Board series *War*, which the CBC carried last winter) and the chairman Dan McIlwain on economic affairs. The editorials, mildly right of centre, are moderate in tone and well argued, and the editorial page, as demonstrated in the long-running controversy over the dismissal of Brandon University President Harold Penketh, does not shy from having readers look back sheepishly at once that one did, at length, over the newspaper's pro-Parkin position.

But the strongest point in the *Sun's* favor is that it seems actually to believe in news, which is now rarer than may be imagined. The worst journalistic abomination—the staff-written story, given as a puff to the advertiser or the opening of his ear dealership, or the renovation of his Koppert Kettle Kitchen—made no appearance during my subscription. Neither did the glossy grip-and-go picture in which two or more persons stand as if, startled, back to wall, over a caption, "Neville Fleck (left) presents a cheque for \$79,910 to..." The long the class was looking at, but had the staff-written conservation leadership convention to cover, which it did with a more than credible staff writer and three photographers, and the *Brandon Sun* makes a newspaper. The day-by-day coverage, coming from the staff, is good. Bain, tried to touch all bases, and if it favored the paper's editorial line, or as two letter writers complained, it was not evident to an outsider.

According to Vice-President and Assistant Editor Michael Macdonald, the *Sun* has an editorial staff of 18 reporters, five desk people and three photographers. That is all. (For comparison, the larger *Red Deer Advocate* has a news staff of 25, the *Guahg Daily Mercury* 21, and the *Charlottetown Gazette* 20.) *Brandon Sun* has a 48-page (almost) in the *Sun* pages, which gives it three members on the board, but control remains in Brandon. Equipment is modern, computer terminals, for example, have totally replaced typewriters in the newsroom. And the paper also has a weekly more-serious small-city newspaper, *Newsday*, a rare case of a profit that is not without honor in its own country.



Mak (left) and Yanaghi' cells linked to crippling diseases



Quest musher (above) Lindner at Petch line: an exhausting course over high passes and through river bottoms

OUTDOORS

A northern test of endurance

It is the grueling marathon of dog-sled racing. The 1,510-km, two-week Iditarod race between Anchorage and Nome, Alaska, is the longest and most famous of the grueling number of dog-sled events around the world. Sled dogs and their professional drivers race as many as 100 km a day through the Alaskan winter for a first-prize purse of \$50,000. But this year a new splintered Canadian race, the 1,450-km Yukon Quest, between Fairbanks, Alaska, and Whitehorse, is the Yukon, is competing for attention with the 12-year-old institution.

The fledgling Canadian race represented no immediate threat, however, to the supremacy of the Iditarod (the same for an old Alaskan gold-rush town). Since it began in 1984, the exhausting U.S. race has evolved into a specialized test of endurance in which drivers, called mushers, race strapped-down, lightweight sleds and teams of as many as 16 highly trained sled dogs over an exhausting course which ranges from high icy mountain passes to snow-filled river bottoms. This year's Iditarod includes 67 races, and both mushers and dogs

are rested and fed at 36 checkpoints along the route. The Quest is not the first Canadian challenge to the largely U.S. race. In 1968 hard-charging Denver City, Yukon, musher Larry (Dowby) Smith forced four-time Alaskan Iditarod winner Rick Swenson to

shave two full days from the previous 14-day record to win the race. Smith eventually finished fourth. At week's end in this year's Iditarod, which began March 3 and will end around March 16, Smith was in second place, and Swenson was running seventh.

Organizers of the first Yukon Quest, which Alaskan Sonny Lindner won on March 8, judged the competition a success. Twenty-six mushers completed the race, which had only six checkpoints and a \$15,000 first prize. Still, caution about the race was strong enough that media inquiries to Circle Hot Springs, Alaska, one of the Quest checkpoints, overheard the words of the primitive telephone exchange and burned the building that housed it.

With interest in the dog-sled racing revival growing (mushers now participate in more than 100 sprint races, averaging 25 km in length, throughout North America), officials of the Indiana-based International Kilt Dog Racing Association now hope that they can convince Olympic organizers to include their ancient sport in the 1996 Calgary games.

—HEATHER BROCKWILL
in Whitehorse



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MEDICINE

Do-it-yourself fertility

Just four years ago, if a woman suffered from a hormone deficiency that caused infertility, her doctors had to hook her up to a room-sized, hormone-dispensing computer for as long as two weeks until her menstrual cycle became normal. Then, about two years ago, researchers developed a handheld, portable computer, weighing only a pound, that could be strapped to a patient. As a result, the patient did not have to be immobilized during the hormone treatment. But this computer cost as much as \$5,000, a large investment to administer \$5 worth of hormone. Now a technique that a University of Calgary endocrinologist developed by bypassing the computer entirely, as women learn to administer the hormone doses to themselves. The births of one baby boy in December and another last month, along with five pregnancies among seven other women trying the new method, are hopeful signs that many infertile women will achieve pregnancies without multiple births or other complications that fertility drugs can cause.

About 15 per cent of all women are infertile, but only a fraction of these—roughly 10 to 20 per cent—are so far potential beneficiaries of the new technique. They are women who naturally produce below-normal amounts of the brain hormone GnRH (gonadotropin releasing hormone). Its presence in strictly controlled quantities signals the pituitary gland to produce in turn two more hormones, which trigger the ovaries to produce an egg.

But few treatments used computers to administer the exact, minute doses of GnRH which the patients required every couple of hours, 24 hours a day, through the course of the treatment. But endocrinologist Dr. Bernard Cornebiam, 36, began to question this need for the expensive, cumbersome equipment. He asked, "Why not let the women do it for themselves?" Then, working with patients at the University of Calgary's Medical Clinic, Cornebiam decided that "any intelligent, clean person" should be able to inject a premeasured drop of the necessary hormone every two hours into a catheter imbedded in her arm. When Calgary teacher Maryann Wigman, 34, gave birth to a boy on Dec. 4, she



Cornebiam showing his technique. 'It's fun'

because she was the first to prove that his method was successful.

The interest in Cornebiam's technique was apparent when about 300 doctors questioned him immediately after he presented his research to an American Fertility Society meeting in San Francisco last April. Since then he has advised hospitals in Canada and in many parts of the United States on how to set up training programs for infertile patients. Now Cornebiam is embarking on a study to determine whether initial experiences can help another, larger group of infertile women—candidates for the fertility drug clomiphene. He is also relaxing the injection process by attaching the connection less obtrusively to the thigh or abdomen, rather than the arm. But already he is so confident of producing the day when a previously infertile patient will ovulate that he sent one hooked off to his new job in Oklahoma, 5,000 km away, waiting for the call to fly back and do his part. Said Cornebiam: "It's fine. The fact that it is working has made us all happy."

—ROSANNE ZWARTZ in Calgary

"What?" I said to them, "You missed the tour boat to Capernaum?"
"Climb aboard, I'll give you a tour myself."



"Relax," I told this Canadian couple as we sailed on the Sea of Galilee, "you didn't really miss the boat."

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A mirror of convoluted sex

CLOUD 9

By Caryl Churchill
Directed by Bill Glasco

After 30 years of developing and polishing her craft in experimental theatres and on BBC radio, British playwright Caryl Churchill has

walked onto the world's stages with two acclaimed sexual satires, *Cloud 9* and *Top Girls*. Both have already appeared in New York and London, and *Cloud 9* is currently at Toronto's Bayview Playhouse for an ambitious 10-week run. If Terrance Thorne's production of *Top Girls* in May matches the superb *Cloud*

2, Toronto audiences will enjoy an ideal introduction to a major contemporary dramatist.

A casual viewer might dismiss *Cloud 9* as a witty gimmick. Churchill telescopes a century into 25 years while casting men as women and vice versa. But the play is in fact a savage attack on sexual repression and especially the fear that proclaims one male character to say, "There is something dark about women that threatens what is best in us." In the first act Churchill colonizes a family of British colonialists, including the white man's burden in Africa around 1880. *Cloud 9* (Benedict Campbell) is a persona borncast who dispenses ardent justice and lofty sentiments while lusting after the widow next door. His native servant, Joshua (Gerrard Wyn Davies), whose skin is black but whose values are white, has casual sex with an intrepid white explorer, Harry Bagley (B.H. Thomson). Bagley also beds *Cloud 9*'s young son, Edward (Pamela Reid), and *Cloud 9*'s wife, Betty (Jana Meese). But after mistakenly trying to seduce the horrified *Cloud 9*, he marries the governor's (Nora McLellan)—who is really in love with Betty.

The casting is contrary to gender in the hilarious first act, which magnifies the basic fact: conventional morality has wobbled on natural instincts. But Churchill's next social portrait—although still very funny—is poignant, almost sombre. The setting of the second act is London, 1980. To heighten the contrast between Victorian and contemporary mores, Churchill accelerates history. Betty, Edward and his pompier sister, Victoria (Rebecca Roback), have aged only 25 years. Betty (now played by Reid) leaves her husband, *Cloud 9*, and in her solitude discovers, to her surprise, that she and her body still exist. Victoria meets with Len (McLellan), a lesbian, Edward (now played by Meese) turns homosexual and takes care of their children. Despite the characters' painful adjustments to these unconventional modern relationships, they are now able to remain faithful to their true sexuality.

Bill Glasco's direction is masterful and he has deepened the comic-strip first act with several evocative musical settings. Apart from Campbell's occasionally infectious bluster, the cast deftly renders character changes with insight and compassion. That delight in changing roles, sexual and otherwise, makes *Cloud 9* more than just a titling satire. A successful human drama depends in part on characters rediscovering their identities and acquiring new roles. In reflecting this vital process, *Cloud 9* provides a powerful theatrical experience.

—MARK CRANKHORN

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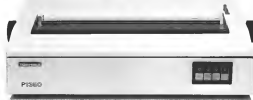


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ART

A showcase for clay gems

Unlike the United States, which enjoys a gift-aided tradition of private support for the arts, Canada has a lacklustre history of cultural philanthropy. But the George R. Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art, which opened last week in Toronto, marks an extravagant departure from the norm. Not a cent of public money went into the elegant new building on the University of Toronto campus, nor into its stunning, world-class collection of pre-Columbian pottery, Italian Renaissance, English Delftware and European porcelain. A \$20-million gift to the province of Ontario from Toronto financier George Gardiner and his wife, Helen, the museum is a monument to private taste and initiative.

The museum's project grew from modest beginnings. In 1977 the Gardiners decided to buy a few ceramic pieces to decorate a new home. But over the next seven years they became fascinated by the art forms and, with the help of British consultant Robert Williams, they amassed more than 3,000 pieces, worth \$15 million. As the collection mushroomed, Gardiner, now 66 and chairman of Scott's Chicken Villages (Kennedy Fried Chicken), decided to take advantage of tax laws that allow him eventually to deduct the full value of the public donation from his income. As well, he did not want his prized collection to disappear "like a pebble on a beach" into a mammoth institution such as the Royal Ontario Museum. As the only institution in North America devoted to ceramics, the Gardiner Museum will establish Toronto as a centre for related scholarship. But the museum is not dry or academic. With its sleek park and green granite facade and its gleaming copper exterior, the \$6-million building, which Toronto architect Keith Waples designed, is an exception to a private club. Within the exhibition galleries, each piece—from a tiny porcelain chimney painted with a miniature landscape scene to an imposing Mexican town's statue in the lobby—is showcased like a gem.

The diverse collection rests in airy, uncluttered display cases and intimate groupings by historical period. The result is a finely orchestrated progression of delights. Sixteenth-century earthenware Mexican plates and bowls, painted in vibrant tones of blue, green and gold, portray such myths as the Rape of Europa and the Death of Actaeon with skill and flair. In contrast is that so-



The Meissen eagle: an oasis of calm

phisticated Renaissance style, the naive depictions of subjects such as Adam and Eve on 17th-century English Delftware plates have the freshness and charm of folk art. The discovery of the technique of firing porcelain by German craftsmen in 1710 led to new heights of refinement in exquisite hand-painted vases, dishes and figurines. One of the most remarkable pieces in the collection is a large, white porcelain eagle commissioned in 1716 from the celebrated Meissen stoneware factory. Unlike the intricately gilded doves and ten swans by the same manufacturer, it possesses a magnificent, sculptural simplicity.

There is such a rich and varied trove that it cannot be absorbed in a single visit. But, far from being a static shrine, the museum will expand the collection and host traveling exhibitions as well. Its future activities will depend to some extent on government grants and on private donations, but a hefty \$4-million endowment from the Gardiners will cushion it from the financial woes that plague most cultural institutions. Such blue-chip backing will help preserve the museum as an oasis of calm—a fitting spot for such otherworldly pursuits as contemplating the classic lines of a vase or pondering the perfection of a trumpet. —GILLIAN HICKLEY

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PRESS

Montreal's dailies at war

Despite Montreal's many fading glories, it is still one of the greatest newspaper centers in North America. Even with the loss of two dailies (the *Montreal Star* and *Montreal Mirror*) in the late 1970s, the surviving one English and three French-language dailies still give bilingual readers the biggest choice in Canada. Saul Mark Harrison, editor of the English-language *Montreal Gazette*, who weathered other media wars for more than 35 years while working for *The Toronto Star*: "Montreal is the best news city in the country, both for quan-

tity and *Le Journal de Montreal* circulation 320,000 weekdays, 340,000 Saturdays, 330,000 Sundays." Said *La Presse* Publisher Roger Landry: "We are in competition, and if I want to play the game, I have to go seven days a week." Under the direction of Landry, a marketing specialist and former vice-president of the Montreal Expos baseball team, *La Presse* has increased its circulation by roughly 40,000 since 1977 and has eliminated several losses which the new publisher said were "in the millions of dollars." Landry estimated that 1983 figures will show a profit of about \$5



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ity of newspapers and the number of events happening." Now, Montreal's already lively content among the dailies is heating up. The various papers are taking bold initiatives of one type or another—adding the introduction of regional editions, special sections, front-page color, a new printing plant and a possible takeover—to increase their respective market shares.

The most ambitious gamble is under way at the 106-year-old *La Presse*, which was the subject of rumors in the press community only a year ago that it was on the verge of closing. On March 11 *La Presse* daily (circulation 300,000 weekdays; 300,000 Saturdays) began publishing a Sunday edition for the first time in its history. Although *La Presse* has always been a broadsheet, general-interest newspaper, its Sunday edition is a tabloid concentrating heavily on sports. At such, it is challenging the huge sex-crime and sports-orien-

ted *Le Journal de Montreal* (circulation 320,000 weekdays, 340,000 Saturdays, 330,000 Sundays), a subsidiary of Power Corp.

Montreal's other add-to-it-of-the-road newspaper, *The Gazette*, faces a different challenge—a changing market. With a total circulation of 305,000 on weekdays and 275,000 on Saturdays, the paper has about 85,000 bilingual francophones among its readers. *The Gazette* is pinning its hopes for growth on "new editions"—two separate supplements to the regular newspaper which circulate only in Montreal's east end or West Island. The supplements, like those that several North American metropolitan dailies, including *The Toronto Star*, have produced for several years, concentrate on community news and offer advertising rates that compete with those of the existing community newspapers. So far, *The Gazette's* supplements have lost money, but, said Managing Editor Mel Morris: "We be-

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have that the supplements will ultimately be successful because they are clearly the best way to satisfy the reader's taste for local events." As well, The Gazette has recently begun running color pictures daily on its front page, a process that Morris says costs about four times as much as black and white. It also has extended provincial coverage and it is planning new daily columns from Ottawa and Quebec City.

For the tiny Le Devoir (circulation 34,000), the challenge is modernization. It lost \$550,000 last year, and readers complained that antiquated printing equipment, which demanded an earlier deadline than rival papers, and an emphasis on pandemonium analysis and editorialism were rendering it irrelevant as a source of information. But recently it has improved its business service substantially, begun a new recreation section and installed computerized typesetting equipment. Managing Director Michel Paradis, who works under Jean-Louis Roy, the paper's overall director, said Le Devoir turned a modest profit in the final quarter of 1988. It ended a two-month advertising lull in radio, television and billboards early this month and it will begin another similar campaign in April.

At Le Journal de Montreal, Publisher Pierre Péladeau is earning record profits. Slack in his Quebecer Corp., which includes 35 weeklies and three dailies (Le Journal de Quebec and the Winnipeg Sun are the others), is selling for \$36 this year, compared with \$8 in 1979, and it recently split Péladeau, who in the past has said that "a newspaper's purpose is sales," is now building a \$20-million printing plant for Le Journal to increase maximum circulation to 400,000 copies and add color capability. He has also expressed interest in buying Le Devoir, which has plant, news service and distributors. But that, Le Devoir's Paradis says, is "something that will certainly not happen—at least not while I am here."

Perhaps the biggest change in the city's journalistic community is a trademark Le Press's Landry said that for the past two years a CBC journalist called him on the same date with the same question: "Back when I had to tell him the rumors were not true and we were not about to fail." Their last December he received a call again on the same day—but with a different question: "This time," said Landry with a smile, "he said he had heard a rumor we were about to spend millions expanding, and he wanted to know if that was true. I had to tell him no-net yet." Now, as Montreal's daily news isn't for a buyer market, the most cheering news in the city may be the state of the papers themselves. —ANTHONY WILSON/SMITH in Montreal

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BEST OF TASTE



BEEFEATER: Spirit of England

LIVING

A twirling, whirling dance revolution



Victor (right) and dancers at Jazz Dance Academy; breakdancing student (below) mime and clapping acrobatics moves

More than 15 years ago gangs of black and Hispanic youths in the ghettos of New York City's South Bronx and the Los Angeles barrio developed a form of stylized, competitive dancing as a diversion during truant and break in sudden respite of gang warfare and streetfighting. These respite became known as breakdancing. The activity remained in the U.S. ghetto until a 90-second segment in last year's hit film *Flashdance* popularized the dance with a wider audience. And in the past year white and black Canadian teenagers have started to breakdance in everything from two-people amateur street acts to staged professional performances in nightclubs from Halifax to Vancouver. Breakdancing combines traditional moves with dizzying acrobatic games, aspects of martial arts and dance steps ranging from jazz to the jitterbug. Breakdancers carefully choreograph a blend of styles to regular beats, ranging from the loudest pulse of electronic disco music to "ragging" (a type of highly rhythmic talking). In use of the best-known moves, dancers spin while curled on their back and then, with their feet in the air, perform pretzel-like contor-

tions in Montreal groups of three to 10 breakdancers, known as a "crew," first danced in subway stations and bus stops in early 1982.

In the past three months breakdancing has moved from the street to the classroom. In addition to traditional ballet and aerobics, instructors now teach the movements of "breaking" as

regular dance classes. Frederick (Speedy) Victor, 24, a Concordia University political science student, teaches weekly classes to 180 hopeful "breakers" from eight to 64 years old at Montreal's Jazz Dance Academy. He observed "it transcends racial boundaries, students range from kids who spend months saving their allowance to elite Westmount teenagers."

Breakdancing's exhibitionist qualities also appeal to its young adherents. In Halifax 23-year-old Roger Kelce, part of an eight-man crew which dances in clubs and on streets, enjoys the performing. Self Kelce "People gather around and clap on the sidewalks, we just do it to show people we can do it."

Still, there is a certain irony in the fact that organized breaking is now done in both high school gymnasiums and high-priced nightclubs, in stark contrast to its early roots in ghetto gang warfare. Hired Montreal promoter Guy Louis-John, who stages musical and breakdancing events, "Breakdancing is probably the new answer to racial violence. It has become a way for young people to steer clear of crime and keep out of trouble."

—JACKIE CARLON in Toronto



Photo by J. Carlin

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TECHNOLOGY

Three dimensions in print

Manufacturers and advertisers traditionally look for techniques to capture the attention of consumers. One of the latest developments is a new technology that allows printers to mass produce holograms—photographic images of objects and designs that create an eerie three-dimensional effect. Among the recent innovations:

- A small sculpture of a holographic eagle which appears on the cover of the current issue of *National Geographic* magazine.
- A new line of Hallmark greeting cards, scheduled to be released in April, which features holographic images of a

printed in vast numbers. The New York-based MasterCard Inc., which began producing 25 million cards (featuring Hanes's technique) with glamorous rubber-colored holograms last summer, was the first major North American company to introduce high quality mass-produced holograms.

So far, there are no embossing facilities in Canada. Explained Michael Papp, a holography instructor at Toronto's Ontario College of Art: "We live on top of the technology. There is nothing happening that could not happen here. It is just a matter of getting the business sector or government interested."

Still, there are problems with the new



National Geographic's 'eagle' cover the illusion of three-dimensional depth

fish swimming in a bowl and treasure chests bulging with plunder.

New MasterCard and Visa credit cards are decorated with hard-to-replicate holographic designs to stop counterfeits.

Hungarian-born scientist Dennis Garby invented holography in Great Britain in 1947. But until recently it was known as "a technology in search of an application," and artists and scientific researchers were its primary users. A hologram is created when technicians use a light laser beam to reflect the image of an object onto a photographic plate. When the processed plate is illuminated under monochromatic light, it creates the illusion of three-dimensional depth.

The process generally remained a curiosity until 1979 when Windsor, Ont.-born engineer Kenneth Blaine, 56, of California-based Radica Images, developed a method that allowed the hologram to be embossed in plastic and

process. Holograms remain difficult to display. In order to see them clearly, consumers have to view them in sunlight or in light from an incandescent bulb. Fluorescent lights blur and flatten the image. And the embossing technique is expensive. Hallmark spokesman Will Nelson said that the production costs of Hallmark's new cards, which will retail for \$5 (U.S.), were seven times the normal amount. And the *National Geographic* hologram doubled the printing costs of the magazine's cover. *National Geographic* Editor Bill Garrett is pleased with the hologram cover but he does not share the opinion of the technology's proponents who claim that holograms will replace photographs in books and magazines. Said Garrett: "That would be virtually impossible, because at this point the [embossed] hologram's image has to be the same size as its subject. It would be kind of hard to reproduce the Alps."

—PETER GIFFER in Toronto



The Koestlers: adventure that will fascinate and horrify many feminists

BOOKS

A portrait of devotion

STRANGER ON THE SQUARE
By Arthur Koestler
(General, 262 pages, \$18.95)

In March, 1983, the Hungarian-born writer Arthur Koestler committed suicide in his London home. To his close friends his death came as no surprise; he suffered from Parkinson's disease and incontinence and he was the vice-president of a British group campaigning for the legitimization of suicide. The surprise was that his wife, Cynthia, joined the author of *Darkness at Noon* and *The Act of Creation* in death; at 55 she was more than 20 years his junior and in good health. The posthumous publication of *Stranger on the Square*, a fragmentary volume of autobiography, goes a long way toward explaining Cynthia's act. The book is a strange, unsettling love story. As its editor, Harold Harris, observes: "She lived his life. And when the time came for him to leave it, her life too was at an end."

Cynthia Jefferson entered Koestler's life as a secretary in 1949. She was a shy, determined South African, whose status as a self-imposed exile may well have appealed to Koestler. *Stranger on the Square* begins in the 1940s, where his two earlier memoirs left off, but after his expiring chapter Koestler contributes only three brief sections. More than two-thirds of *Stranger on the Square* is the work of Cynthia in painfully honest prose she evokes their lives

until 1966, when the narrative abruptly stops. Those were fruitful years for Koestler. But although he and Cynthia became lovers, he was slow to recognize her devotion and they were not married until 1968.

Cynthia's portrait of her husband is a testament to the power of love and self-delusion. A hard drinker and shameless womanizer, he was also at times a mental bully to whom ideas mattered far more than people. Cynthia admits that he tried to turn parties into seminars "to extract the maximum out of all his guests." She could sometimes see him loudly, but her emotions were never detached like rapt admiration will fascinate and horrify feminists. When his previous wife, Nanine, left him, Cynthia wondered "how [she] could bear the thought of a life passing without knowing what Arthur's episodes were."

Certainly Koestler was a brilliant man. With his studies of biology, physics and psychology he grandly ignored the signs that to often separates the wise from the senescent. Still, Cynthia's tribute may only damage his reputation. It is hard to retain admiration for a man who could so easily send his girlfriend off for an illegal abortion and mark the event in his diary with the euphemism, "Cynthia has been poisoned." Koestler was not, apparently, as honest as his readers hoped and thought.

—MARK ADLER

Ambassadors of colliding worlds

THE SAMURAI
By Shosha Weis
(Leather and Ocean Design,
178 pages, \$27.95)

In 1613 four low-ranking samurai sailed from Japan with a handful of Jesuits and a Spanish priest. Their destination was New Spain (Mexico), but the motive for the seven-year journey—an expedition that eventually took them to Madrid for an audience with Philip III and to Rome for another with Pope Paul V—have long been lost. But that curious historical footnote has provided Shosha Weis, one of Japan's most highly regarded contemporary writers and a man whom Graham Greene describes as "one of the finest living novelists," with the foundation for his remarkable story. The Samurai. Ostensibly sent on errands to negotiate trade agreements with New Spain, the samurai, in Weis's convincing recreation of the tale, were pawns of the shifting policies of their Japanese lords and of the ambitions of Velasco, the Portuguese priest.

Much of the strength of Weis's novel is a result of the clarity of contrast between East and West. In *The Samurai* two worlds collide in full, rich color. The Japanese scene is one of the spires of Edo, the Spaniards gaze at the sun, strangely dressed ambassadors. Historically, the envoys were among the first Japanese to visit the Western world, and Weis's narrative describes the cathedrals of 17th-century Europe as vividly as it does the grim frontal prints of Hamano Rakemon, the book's hero.

Although the envoys suspect that their trade mission has, in reality, darker purposes, they are obliged to do everything they can to fulfill it. They are also obliged, despite their misgivings, to treat warmly the Velasco, the priest, as their translator and guide. Their uncertain position is beset with contradictions between Occidental expediency and Oriental honor, but at the heart of their struggle is the conflict between Christianity and Buddhism.

Velasco's ambition to become bishop of Japan is only an exaggerated version of a missionary's zeal, and by the time the envoys arrive in Spain he has persuaded them that they will only attain their goal of a trade agreement if they convert to Christianity. Their conversion, as Velasco knows, is entirely pragmatic, a disservice that bothers the Japanese far more than the Christian. At her baptism Hakuseki "felt a loathing like a woman must when she is

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ferred to sleep with a man she neither
loved nor trusted."

Ironically, Velasco's comfortable rationalization that the motives for conversion are irrelevant—that baptism, in itself, is the first step toward salvation—proves to be closer to the truth than the samurai would have believed. Throughout the journey Hasekura and his comrades puzzle over the images of Christ they encounter, wondering what is so worthy of worship in the emaciated figure on the cross. It is on their return journey, on the plains of Mexico, that they first begin to understand that their conversion might be more than an empty vow. A renegade monk said: "Do you think He is to be found within those garish cathedrals?" He isn't—not within such buildings, I think. He lives in the wretched houses of these Indians."

In *The Swerve*, Rabe demonstrates a remarkable ability to sympathize with the various sides of opposing world views, beliefs and philosophies. The novel transcends itself gracefully from an intricate Japanese drawing to a sweeping European canvas. The journey of the essays is an epic of detail, and the civilizations of East and West, portrayed with such sympathy, are almost unbearably dissimilar. The reader, like the samurai, is inclined to conclude that "the world truly is enormous." —DAVID MACFARLANE

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 *Pet Sematary*, King (2)
- 2 *The Name of the Rose*, Eco (2)
- 3 *Pelauk*, McArthur (2)
- 4 *Blackboard Jungle*, Ahmed (2)
- 5 *The Wicked Day*, Stewart (2)
- 6 *Berlin-Gates*, Dingleton (2)
- 7 *The Robots of Dawn*, Asimov (2)
- 8 *The Dancers*, Prosser (2)
- 9 *The Little Drummer Girl*, Le Carré (2)
- 10 *Shower*, Rabe (2)

Nonfiction

- 1 *In Search of Excellence*, Peters and Waterman Jr. (2)
- 2 *The Game*, Dryden (2)
- 3 *Intrepid's Last Case*, Stevenson (2)
- 4 *The Money Spinners*, McQueen (2)
- 5 *You Can't Print That*, Lynch (2)
- 6 *Other People's Money*, Potter (2)
- 7 *Contraband*, Martin, Gregg and Pichon (2)
- 8 *Get Smart: Make Your Money Count*, MacArthur (2)
- 9 *Ny See Please... We're Married*, Leacock (2)
- 10 *Nickel and Dimed*, The Second Oldest Profession, Donohue (2)

(*) Position last week

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A tall tale of rural horror

TOO MANY BLACKBIRDS
By Ken Ledbetter
(Shardart, 192 pages, \$17.95)

Too Many Blackbirds is a first novel of considerable craft and literary sophistication. Canadian Ken Ledbetter has devised an ingenious puzzle of dark humor and tangled motive, framed in the tradition of the tall tale and backwoods Gothic. The book is funny, at moments outrageously so, but the nasty events that are sprinkled through it make any laughter impossible.

Morgan Ballard, a mysterious stranger with no known history and no apparent profession or goals, arrives in the sleepy town of Poplar Springs. An erratic sequence of violence and death ensues. Ballard's wife and her two successors die in odd, ambiguous circumstances and are quickly buried. A local child drowns in Ballard's well. His unsavory daughter, Delia, who handles a kitchen knife like a sword, mutilates a bullying schoolboy's ear. And then, after six years, the Ballard epoch is suddenly over, in a splendid conflagration that destroys house and matter and leaves only rumor and speculation behind.



Ledbetter: evil rumors, nasty actions

Ballard is an enigma, whose activities defy explanation. Clarity dogs him, but his character is opaque rather than evil. With pleasantness and evasion, rather than force, he reminds his neighbors' attempts to understand him. But the townspeople, who are themselves a fascinating cross section of grotesque characters, only spy and gossip with increasing persistence.

Too Many Blackbirds is fascinatingly a novel of sparkling verbal energy. Ledbetter is adept at rural patois, at folk humor and folk wisdom. As 16 villagers deliver their monologues on the Ballard saga, his cryptic life spins up, and the personality of the village emerges as well. What had been obscure, confused, even bizarre around the Ballard affair becomes simple and triumphantly human as throat-cutting voices complete their task.

The novel is engagingly allusive. Structure, syntax and diction all echo the classics of southern U.S. fiction. But Too Many Blackbirds is much more than a derivative western pastiche. Ledbetter makes both his unusual protagonist and complex, troubled community wholly believable. At a single stroke, his novel manages to renew a fertile literary tradition and break fresh and unexpected ground.

—DOUGLAS HILL

EDUCATION

France's scholarly war

The Paris right-wing daily *France Soir* called it a "total war" of 800,000 people. Police officials estimated the one-kilometre-long protest march slightly more conservatively at 500,000. But, whatever the count, as a human sea of parents, priests and conservative politicians surged through the Paris suburbs of Versailles last week, France faced its largest mass protest since the paralyzing student strikes of May, 1968. Intriguingly, the lines were not the Socialist government's contentious economic policies, which provoked a one-day strike by six million civil servants throughout France last week. Rather, it was education and, specifically, a new bill curtailing the autonomy of the country's 80,130 private schools, 85 per cent of which are Roman Catholic.

A bitter dispute between church and state that erupted around the beginning of the 19th century festered behind the scenes. In 1959 then President Charles de Gaulle thought he had put an end to the battle that began under Napoleon by undertaking to pay teachers' salaries and some administrative costs in parochial schools in return for their agreement to adopt the state-approved curriculum. As a result, 27 per cent of French schoolchildren—two million pre-university students—now attend privately run but publicly subsidized schools. But President François Mitterrand resurrected the issue before the 1981 election when he vowed to end a \$2.3-billion annual subsidy and create a unified national education system.

Protests from the Catholic lobby swiftly forced the president to modify his plans. But even a watered-down draft bill, which Education Minister Alain Savary unveiled in January, provoked suspicion among private school supporters that the government was taking a back-door route toward the eventual abolition of Catholic education. The bill's critics violently oppose two proposals that would turn all parochial teachers into civil service employees and create local boards of education to oversee both private and public schools, while giving the state more say in Catholic school staffing. Protected Rev. Joseph Drouot, who runs Paris's Jesuit Collège Saint-Louis de Gonzague, "I do not see what authority would remain in my hands."

Opposition leaders have tried to turn the government's move into a rally against socialist infringements on individual freedom. Private school proponents

defined the institutions as havens of discipline, academic achievement and traditional values. But beneath that claim there is also a thinly veiled racism; the public system now includes a high concentration of North African immigrants' children.

The issue has forced the government

into an embarrassing corner. A recent poll reported that 70 per cent of French people oppose the Socialist position, and a government survey last week indicated that the Socialists might be prepared to capitulate to avoid undermining controversial industrial reforms now under way (Maclean's, March 12). But backing down further could alienate the government's staunchest supporters, and on last week's first general and service strike since Mitterrand's election demonstrated, the government needs all the help it can muster. —MARIA McDONALD in Paris

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Hannah: A dirty joke turns into a sizzling romantic fantasy as a jeweled mermaid follows her mate to the streets of New York City

FILMS

A voluptuous fish out of water

SPLASH
Directed by Ron Howard

Mermaid movies have traditionally been unforgettably whimsical. *Splash*, on the other hand, is happily free of any sexuality and lingo droolery. Instead, it is a dirty joke that turns into a romantic fantasy. Director Ron Howard sets the double-edged tone in the scene opening on a cruise ship off Cape Cod: a little boy named Freddie jumps dropping loose change so that he can look underneath women's dresses when he surfaces at his brother Allen's in dresser and, when he falls overboard, meets a mermaid before his rescuers reach him. Years later Freddie has grown up to be an overpaid playboy (John Candy), and Allen (Tom Hanks) still has a daydreamer's gaze as he runs his father's Manhattan fruit and vegetable supply business. When Allen's dream girlfriend moves out he is so despondent that he takes a cab to Cape Cod, where he falls overboard once again and the mermaid (Daryl Hannah) saves him. After she rescues him to New York and emerges from the sea stark naked (out of water she takes on a human form), the fantasy is in full swing.

Allen falls readily in love with Hannah (the mermaid chooses herself after the Manhattan avenue because she likes the name) and she with him. But she has only six days to spend until she has to return to the sea, and fears telling

him the truth about herself. Left in front of Allen's television set on her first afternoon out of the water, she quickly assimilates English and proceeds to Bloomington's, where she discovers the joys of using credit cards. Although she masters the language immediately, she picks up its *tu* dialect, explaining to Allen that she can stay for only "his five-filled days." When he brings her a fish from Tiffany's, she mistakes the gift box itself as the present and thanks him profusely. At night, while Allen sleeps, she takes a saltwater bath and reverts to her mermaid form—seal scales, delicate fins and a voluptuous tail.

Rather than allow the material to become too precious, Howard gives the sexual chemistry between Allen and Hannah some stride they great each other playfully. The goddess, though almost dumber each other. But there are enough silly appearances by Candy as the randy Freddie to prevent the scene from becoming too stiff and plucky. The comedy in *Splash* has its own palpable aspect: Allen's secretary, played by Dody Goodman, has recently been hit on the head by lightning and shows up at work wearing a bra over her blouse. The script, by Lowell Ganz and Babaloo Mandel, the team that co-wrote Howard's extremely funny *Night Shift*, and Bruce Jay Friedman, has an underhanded wit and a *Private*-like grace. And there is a sly but credible sus-

pense subplot involving Eugene Levy as a strange biologist who has come face to face with Madison underwater at Cape Cod. He tries to convince the authorities and fellow scientists that there is a mermaid loose in New York City, which eventually results in her capture.

Truly beguiling as it is, *Splash* does not, however, go as far imaginatively as an audience might want it to. The filmmakers cheat on Madison's transformation from woman to fish: the movie cries out for the kind of special effects that would delight and dazzle. Don Petersen's underwater photography is especially pleasing, but *Night Shift* had a more definitive visual quality.

But the performance in *Splash* speaks the story with stardust license, who played the vicious robot in *Star Wars*, is the sweetest mermaid on record and it is impossible to imagine a more beautiful one. With her golden ringlets and delicately tentative manner, she has an appreciably otherworldly quality. And her scale is sensual. As the addled and moonstruck Allen, newcomer Hanks (from TV's *Beauty and the Beast*) has just the right amount of pliability. And Candy has his first decent screen role.

Splash does have a *chickie* quality that shines. The movie may not so much deal with a male fantasy as create one. It seems to wish great good and, as it does, it leaves glittering ficks in its wake.

—LAURENCE O'CONNOR

Crashing cars and belly laughs

TANK
Directed by Marvin J. Chomsky

Tank is a real riddle-master of a movie and it is undeniably, if crudely, effective. Zack Covey (James Garner), a U.S. army sergeant major readying himself for early retirement, is a scumbag, idiotic and outrageous man who eventually has to take the law into his own hands. Fused in a Georgia town that is crawling with rednecks, he gets on the wrong side of the law when he interferes with a deputy who is beating up a prostitute (Jennifer Bluebell). His action becomes the local sheriff (Cliff Smith), who is the latest incarnation of evil with a southern drawl. When the sheriff frames Zack's son, Billy (C. Thomas Howell), on a drug charge and has him sent to a nearby correctional farm, Zack has to disregard the letter of the law. Luckily for him—and for the movie, which is otherwise impoverished in ideas—he owns an old Sherman tank.

A shameless homage of other movies, *Tank* features an appealingly cruel emotional twist (Good Friend Lady, emotional vigilante behavior) (Working Tank, Billy Chalk) and the latest excuse for serious melodrama (An Officer and a Gentleman). As Zack, his son and the prostitute make their way to the state line, they turn everything in their way into a trap. The sheriff and his mob become comic caricatures, and Zack adds *Smash* and the *Remedy* to its list of stolen trophies. The movie is not so much written or directed as everything.

Also trivialized just about everything it touches. The son has a city on his shoulder because he thinks his father favored his older brother, who died in Vietnam. In too pat a fashion, he reconciles with his father by leading him to drink. Sherman. By having the sheriff visit a halfway, the movie makers claim all the evil they took with great pains to establish. Zack's wife (Shirley Jones) begins as a swearing, feisty woman and then reverts to being the mother she played on TV's *The Perkiwau Family*. Amazingly, Garner manages to turn in a solid, alert performance in the middle of all that absurdity.

Zack, his son and the prostitute become folk heroes, and the audience gets a share of crashing cars and belly laughs. What is so maddening about *Tank* is that it makes plain the audience into what is mainly stupid and primitive. It is difficult to enjoy *Tank* without feeling guilty.

—L. OTT



Radio: Francophones may understand English more easily than the contrary

RADIO

Policing the airwaves

Montreal's airwaves have long crackled with a unique blend of French and English (after that has reflected the city's schizophrenic nature). Typically, a disc jockey will promise "Party time just over the horizon" once an hour and then dance music of rock 'n' roll. But in the past 30 months, rock station CHOM-FM's bilingual theme has driven heat from an unlikely enemy: the federal Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission. Although Ottawa is known for its aggressive promotion of bilingualism, the CRTC has refused all applications for bilingual stations and has insisted on the separation of French and English programming. Last month it threatened to postpone renewal of CHOM's license, which expires on Sept. 30, 1984, unless the station restricts itself to English. The federal station owner, Geoffrey Stirling, said, "That is the kind of intrusion into a sacred sovereign government for this one could have thought up."

The outcast station owner on how the CRTC should go to reform competition between radio stations and to protect editorially distinct services for Canada's various ethnic and musical sectors. CHOM had argued at a CRTC hearing last December that it was only trying to win a larger audience in Montreal's crowded market by acknowledging that 30 per cent of its 600,000 listeners were bilingual or francophone.

Still, faced with the CRTC's increasing rigidity under its new chairman, André Barbeau, CHOM's programming director, Rob Brude, said he had promised "to do whatever we have to do to stay in the CRTC's good graces."

But the regulators are not the only cause of the station's troubles. The most vocal opponents of CHOM's use of French are the owners and staffs of Montreal's French-language stations. They feel that CHOM already has an unfair advantage because it is allowed to select 90 per cent of its music from English pop lists, while French-language stations are obliged to choose at least 50 per cent of theirs from French ones. Paul Malinowski, general manager of CHOM-FM, said, "The CRTC is not a progressive rock station. Look at the tiny Quebec entertainment industry, then look at the huge North American charts, and ask yourself what a kid will want to listen to."

Stirling in his article a businessman to risk losing his radio license. Said CHOM's Brude: "We will do what we have to, even if that means we have to forget about basic things like 'bilingual' and 'comment ça va'." But even when those phrases are translated into English, CHOM's 650,000 francophone listeners may find their station is understood than the controversy of the airwaves.

—ANTHONY WILSON STIRLING
in Montreal

Challenging the purity of sports

By Allan Fotheringham

It's always dangerous to bring some issue into a sentimental situation. Newspapers, especially newspaper sports pages, glory in embellished heroes and poor, put-upon victims of life's little tragedies. The champions of purity in both have been in no small part of the brilliant and brave Steve Podhorski, who falls down a mountain at 96 m.p.h., for winning a race sponsored by a cigarette company but then refusing to accept the trophy. This has suddenly become a high moral issue, and Mr. Podhorski has been lionized by editorial writers and other noble specimens.

This is all very nice, since smoking is the second most boring act on earth (next to curling) and the modest sensitivity still clattering up public places.

The situation is that the Macdonald's tobacco people, who make the sticky little weed, signed a \$1.7-million, five-year deal with the Canadian Ski Association to sponsor national championships. The gutsy Podhorski, who has endured two knee operations on the way to his eight World Cup victories, declines. So at the altitude-baked downhill race at Redoubt, B.C., he competes, but the race, but refused to accept the Robert A. Cup. Well. Not could we breathe?

The only reason why downhill skiing is such a hot subject today in Canada, and the reason Podhorski is such a hero, is because of cigarettes. He was only 19 when he joined the national ski team, the Great Canadian Grey Cougars. Jim Hunter and Ken Read and Dave Murray and Dave Lewis. In one month in 1975 they shocked and rocked Europe by winning races at Val d'Isere in France and Schladming in Austria. The tributes from Calgary and exotic points such as New Mills, Ont., were suddenly taken seriously in Europe. Problem was no one in Canada was paying any attention. The solution, the ski gods decided, was verbal commerce. If Canadians couldn't be interested in skiing, skiing would have to be brought to Canadians. The Du Maurier cigarette salesman was a salesman for Redoubt, B.C.

parveys were recruited.

The Europeans looked down their noses at North American skiing then. Du Maurier put up something like \$200,000 to fly in the French, Italian and Austrian skiers, the officials, the waxers and trainers for two international races in the United States each year and two in Canada. It's why we are now at the regular World Cup event. It's why Steve Podhorski is now a national figure. It's why he can afford to retire at the age of 26. In the age of amateurs to one talks about how much these chaps are making. It's all

the suspicion that is never much mentioned in the sports pages. Podhorski is now earning from \$204,000 to \$225,000 a year. Todd Brooker, the kamikaze bicep specialist, earns between \$180,000 and \$200,000. Ken Read of Calgary was into the pre-million range of \$150,000 before he retired—and the money is perhaps one of the reasons he is now advertising coming back next year. Sweden's Ingemar Stenmark, the best slalom specialist in the world, parlayed his 1980 Olympic gold medals into millions. Austria's Franz Klammer is the oldest downhiller on the circuit and has hung around until the age of 30 because each World Cup win, for him, is worth \$50,000—and then there is his hotel and ski school (sking is such big business that Sports Canada subsidizes our Canadian اسپرینتر to follow the European circuit each year).

This follows the pattern, where the Frank Merriells of our sport are now ruthless professionals. Carl Lewis, the American sprinter and long jumper who is going to try to emulate Jesse Owens and go for four gold medals at the Los Angeles Olympics in August, is barely into his 30s, makes

some \$500,000 a year, lives in a mansion in Houston filled with art and luxury, crystal and driven an Audi and a Jeep. The reason the two best runners in the world, Benita's Sebastian Coe and Steve Ovett, never run against one another except at the unenviable Olympics is that a loss would devastate either's unique life cost to sponsor \$50,000. Don't hate the brand. A 22-year-old, Steve Young of Great-Young University in Utah, great-great-grandson of the namesake, son-in-law of Brigham Young who founded the Mormon faith, has just signed a six-year contract for \$40 million with the unknown Los Angeles Express (football) team.

Canadian skiing has now been taken over by the bookies of booze which kills more people every year via highways than cigarettes ever will. Podhorski's farewell race last week was the Malton World downhill at Whistler, the brewery contributing a cool \$500,000 for the trophy. Pardon me if I yawn.

quiet little arrangement, with the money going into a supervised trust fund, held until "retirement." The ski manufacturers chip in. The bad guys chip in. The host manufacturers chip in. The ski clothing firms chip in.

It's why, as you're notified on your book label each weekend, these daring young men and maid speed records as they skid in a stop-starting off their sleds so as to display the brand beside each car for the eager cameras, their goggles turned around backward on their necks so the label will show. They resemble nothing so much as A.J. Foyt in the winner's circle at the Indy 500, but car dealers to enough deals to buy an Arab oil slick up another corner. They now go to the extent, as Indy levi-tyens would, of putting on the head of the winner, during the excited interview, three different caps advertising three different sponsors. If the World Cup winners could watch jackpots in multiple, they would.

A top Canadian ski official confesses



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